



Arnold. S. Landor

500

#11 425

LMC DR / 2497.4

BY JOHN TOLAP

Wing T 1760

1st & 4th 10



A M Y N T O R :
O R, A
D E F E N C E
O F
Milton's Life.

CONTAINING

- I. A general Apology for all Writings of that kind.
- II. A Catalogue of Books attributed in the Primitive Times to JESUS CHRIST, his Apostles and other eminent Persons: With several important Remarks and Observations relating to the Canon of Scripture.
- III. A Complete History of the Book, Entitul'd, *Icon Basiliæ*, proving Dr. GAUDEN, and not King CHARLES the First, to be the Author of it: With an Answer to all the Facts alledg'd by Mr. WAGSTAF to the contrary; and to the Exceptions made against my Lord ANGLESEY's *Memorandum*, Dr. WALKER's Book, or Mrs. GAUDEN's Narrative, which last Piece is now the first Time publish'd at large.

*DI quibus imperium est animarum, umbræque Silentēs,
Et Chaos, & Phlegethon, Loca Noctæ tacentia late,
Sit mihi fas audita loqui; Sit numine vestro,
Pandere res alta terra & caligine mersas. Virg. Æn. 6.*

London, Printed, and are to be Sold by the Book-
sellers of London and Westminster. M. DC. XC. IX.

	Errors.	Amendments.
Page 5. line 16.	<i>hose</i>	<i>those</i>
20.	5. <i>Christ his</i>	<i>Christ, his</i>
21.	4. <i>Ceretum</i>	<i>Ceretium</i>
37.	19. <i>Cophic</i>	<i>Coptic</i>
48.	3. <i>of</i>	<i>of the</i>
53.	15. <i>Matthies</i>	<i>Matthias</i>
57.	15. <i>Ex mple</i>	<i>example</i>
65.	15. <i>may be</i>	<i>be any</i>
66.	17. <i>littgius</i>	<i>litigious</i>
101.	23. <i>hop'd o</i>	<i>hop'd to</i>
105.	5. <i>Consciencs</i>	<i>Conscience</i>
113.	20. <i>somtime</i>	<i>Som time</i>
131.	16. <i>this</i>	<i>his</i>
137.	8. <i>Mediations</i>	<i>Meditations</i>

* In the Margin of Pag. 57, after *Eusebius*,
 read *lib. 3.* and instead of *first* read *fifth*.

THE
AUTHOR
TO A
FRIEND.

THE Public is so seldom interested in the Debates of privat Men, and I am so little concern'd at the Malice or Mistakes of my Adversaries, that, without som better Motive, I would never presume to trouble the World with any thing merely personal. But if the Subject in question be of extraordinary Weight and Consequence, and that on the certain Decision of it should depend the Tranquillity of a considerable number of People, then I think a Man is indispensably oblig'd to appear for the Truth; and so, while he's endeavoring to serve others, no body will say he ought to neglect his own Defence.

Defence. Whether the Treatise I now send you be of this Nature, is submitted to your equal Judgment : And unless I really design'd a Nobler End by it than the Justification of one Person, neither you nor any body else should lose your time in reading, no more than I my self would be at the Pains of writing it, which yet I'll count the highest Pleasure if I understand it has never so little contributed to the Satisfaction of a Gentleman of such undisputed Learning and Merit.

March 30. 1699.

J. T.

AMRN.

AMYNTOR:

O R, A

DEFENCE

O F

Milton's Life.

WHEN I undertook to write the Life of the most celebrated MILTON, I was far from imagining that I should ever (much less so soon) be oblig'd to make an Apology in justification of such a Work, both harmless in it self, and greatly desir'd by the World. There was no positive Law or Custom against publishing the particular History of this extraordinary Person, con-

B

fide-

sider'd in any respect whatsoever: for the Lives of Good Princes and Tyrants, of Orthodox and Heretical Divines, of Virtuous and Wicked, of Public and Privat Men, are indifferently perus'd by every body; of which it would be superfluous to alledg Examples, the thing being so commonly known by all that have learnt to read. Nor without such a Liberty could we possibly form a true Taste, or have any certain Knowledg of Affairs, since the Excellence or Imperfection of all Matters best appears by opposing 'em to one another. And I was sure (which I find was no Mistake) that the Learning and Sentiments of JOHN MILTON were too considerable not to deserve the highest Commendation or Dislike, according to the Judgment or Affection of the Readers.

SINCE

SINCE therefore it was equally lawful for me to write whose Life I pleas'd (when my Hand was in) the first Charge against me, one would think, should have bin, that I had not fairly represented my Hero. But, very far from that, the great Crime whereof I am arraign'd, consists in telling more than som People would have me; or discovering Truths not fit to be known; and the Manner of my Relation is to them altogether as offensive and displeasing as the Matter of it. 'Tis strange that Men should be found of a Judgment weak enough to make a Crime of such Proceedings in a Writer, who labors to keep himself wholly independent from the Fears or Engagements of any Party; and who profess'd in the very beginning of his Book, that "being neither provok'd by Malice, nor brib'd by Favor, he

“would as well dare to say all
“that was true, as scorn to write
“any Falshood. But the rude
Opposition with which I have
met, notwithstanding such plain
Declarations, convinces me more
than ever how much I was in the
Right by following the peculiar
Method I propos’d to my self
in compiling M I L T O N’s Life,
and which I partly declar’d in
these Terms : ‘In the Characters
‘of Sects and Parties, Books or
‘Opinions, I shall produce his
‘own Words as I find ’em in his
‘Works; that those who approve
‘his Reasons, may owe all the
‘Obligation to himself; and
‘that I may escape the Blame
‘of such as may dislike what he
‘says. Now, what could be more
impartial than this? or more like-
ly to secure me from all Imputa-
tions, whatever should be the
Reception of M I L T O N from
the Public? Yet if by adhering
re-

religiously to this Rule so loud a Clamor was raised against me, it is apparent how much worse I might expect to be treated, had I trod in the common Road. For, if, like most Historians, I had in my own Words (tho' with never so much Candor) related the Actions or Sentiments of my Author, my Adversaries would presently have told the World that this was not the true MILTON, but one of my own Creation, whom I prompted to speak what I durst not own; and by whose Mouth I had publish'd all those Opinions which I would recommend to other People. Well knowing therefore the ordinary Temper and Artifices of these Men, I did partly on that Account produce his own Words to obviate their Sophistry and Calumnies, their two principal offensive Weapons; and also to spare my self the Pains of Quotations af-

terwards, to prove I had neither injur'd him nor abus'd my Readers. Besides this particular Regard to them, I am also of opinion that this is the best and only good way of writing the History of such a Man. And had the Ancients always follow'd it, our Modern Critics would have been less exercis'd to discern their real Sentiments; nor wou'd they be so often oblig'd to examine whether they understood or mis-represented their Authors.

BUT instead of any Objections like these, I am expressly told that I ought not to meddle with MILTON'S Books, nor to revive his Sentiments, or the Memory of those Quarrels wherein he was engag'd; which is only, in other Words, that I ought not to write his Life at all. For what, I pray, is the principal Part of a Learned Man's Life, but the exact History of his

his Books and Opinions, to inform the World about the Occasion of his writing, what it contain'd, how he perform'd it, and with what Consequences or Success? I have no Reason from my own second Thoughts, the Opinion of better Judges, or the Fortune of the Book, to be dissatisfi'd with my Conduct on this Occasion. And had this Method, as I said before, been strictly observ'd, we might have more Knowledg and fewer Critics.

A Y but, say these Gentlemen, you have made an Inroad on our Persuasion, and directly attack'd the sacred Majesty of Kings, the venerable Order of Bishops, the best constituted Church in the World, our holy Liturgy, and decent Ceremonies, the Authority of Councils, the Testimony of the Fathers, and a hundred other things which we profoundly respect and admire : nor

are we the only Sufferers ; for almost all other Sects and Parties have equal Reasons of Complaint against you. Well, be it so then ; but, good Sirs, betake your selves for Reparation to JOHN MILTON ; or , if he is not to be brought to easie Terms, defend your Castles and Territories against him with all the Vigor you can. For, I assure you I am no further concern'd in the Quarrel than to shew you the Enemy, and to give a true Account of his Forces. And all this, if you were of a peaceable Disposition, you might learn from these plain Words in the Conclusion of the Life :
 ‘ ’Tis probable that you (as well
 ‘ as I, or any other) may disap-
 ‘ prove of MILTON’S Senti-
 ‘ ments in several Cases ; but
 ‘ I’m sure, you are far from
 ‘ being displeas’d to find ’em
 ‘ particulariz’d in the History
 ‘ of

' of his Life : For we should have
 ' no true Account of Things, if
 ' Authors related nothing but
 ' what they lik'd themselves :
 ' One Party would never suffer
 ' the Lives of T A R Q U I N, or
 ' P H A L A R I S, or S Y L L A, or
 ' C Æ S A R to appear, while a-
 ' nother would be as ready to
 ' suppress those of C I C E R O,
 ' of C A T O, of T R A J A N, or
 ' B R U T U S. But a Historian
 ' ought to conceal or disguise
 ' nothing ; and the Reader is
 ' to be left to judg of the Virtues
 ' he should imitat, or the Vices
 ' he ought to detest and avoid.

T H I S might serve for a suffi-
 cient Answer to all that has bin
 yet objected to M I L T O N ' s Life,
 if any Reply were thought ne-
 cessary : For the trivial and scur-
 rilous Libels of mercenary Fel-
 lows I shall never regard, they
 being already sufficiently negle-
 cted by the World, and making
 them-

themselves as little by this Practice, as any of a more vindictive Temper could desire : Besides, that to answer 'em in their own Dialect, I must first learn to speak it ; which is absolutely contrary to my Genius, and below the Dignity of Human Nature, since no body openly approves it even at *Billingsgate*. I shall as little consider the censorious Tongues of certain more Zealous than Religious People, who judge of others by their own narrow Schemes, and despise all Knowledge in comparison of their privat Imaginations, wherein they exceedingly please themselves ; a Happiness no body envies them. Nor should I, if that were all, think my self concern'd in making any Return to the obliging Complements of those Gentlemen who (as Father P A U L formerly said of himself) remember me oftner in their Sermons than in their Prayers

ers; tho' som of them are apt to say, that when they mention *Turks, Jews, Infidels, and Heretics*, they do not forget me. But when I am openly accus'd before the greatest Assembly in the World, the Representative Body of the People of *England*, let the Charge be never so frivolous in it self, or to be slighted on any other Occasion, yet such a Respect is due to the Dignity of those to whom it was exhibited, that I hold my self oblig'd to convince'em of my Innocence; and to remove all Suspicion far from me, of what in its own Nature is acknowledg'd to be Criminal, or by them might be reputed Indecent.

THE Matter of Fact is this: On the Thirtieth of *January*, Mr. OFSPRING BLACKHALL, who styles himself *Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty*, Preacht a Sermon before the Honorable
House

House of Commons; wherein, after exclaiming against the Author of MILTON'S Life, for denying *Icon Basilike* to be the Production of King CHARLES the First, he pursues his Accusation in these Terms. ' We may cease
 ' to wonder, says he, that he
 ' should have the Boldness, with-
 ' out Proof, and against Proof, to
 ' deny the Authority of this Book,
 ' who is such an Infidel as to
 ' doubt, and is shameless and im-
 ' pudent enough, even in Print,
 ' and in a Christian Country, pub-
 ' licly to affront our Holy Reli-
 ' gion, by declaring his Doubt,
 ' that several Pieces under the
 ' Name of Christ and his Apostles
 ' (he must mean those now re-
 ' ceiv'd by the whole Christian
 ' Church, for I know of no o-
 ' ther) are supposititious; tho'
 ' thro' the remoteness of those
 ' Ages, the Death of the Persons
 ' concern'd, and the decay of o-
 ' ther

' ther Monuments which might
 ' give us true Information, the
 ' Spuriousness thereof is yet un-
 ' discover'd. Here is indeed a
 Charge of a very high Nature, I
 will not say in his own mean
 Language, an impudent and a
 shameless one ; tho' if it be not
 better prov'd, I cannot hinder
 others from calling it what they
 please, or the thing deserves. But
 before I proceed to make Ob-
 servations on it, I shall insert the
 intire Passage of my Book, which
 he has taken the liberty of a-
 bridging, and so joining the
 Words of two widely different
 Assertions, as if they were but
 one. About this little Artifice
 however I shall make no difference
 with him ; for I can easily deter-
 min our Controversie, without
 using all the Advantages I might
 otherwise take.

A F T E R stating the Proofs
 therefore that Dr. GAUDEN, and
 not

not King CHARLES, was the true Author of *Icon Basilike*, I added a very natural Observation in the following Words.

• When I seriously consider how
• all this happen'd among our
• selves within the Compass of
• Forty Years, in a time of great
• Learning and Politeness, when
• both Parties so narrowly watch'd
• over one anothers Actions,
• and what a great Revolution in
• Civil and Religious Affairs was
• partly occasion'd by the Credit
• of that Book, I cease to
• wonder any longer how so many
• supposititious Pieces under
• the Name of CHRIST, his Apostles,
• and other great Persons,
• should be publish'd and approv'd
• in those Primitive times,
• when it was of so much Importance
• to have 'em believ'd;
• when the Cheats were too many
• on all sides for them to reproach
• one another, which yet
• they

' they often did ; when Com-
 ' merce was not near so general
 ' as now, and the whole Earth
 ' entirely over-spread with the
 ' Darknes of Superstition. I
 ' doubt rather the spuriousness of
 ' several more such Books is yet
 ' undiscover'd, thro the remote-
 ' ness of those Ages, the death
 ' of the Persons concern'd, and
 ' the decay of other Monuments,
 ' which might give us true In-
 ' formation. Here then in the
 first place it is plain, that, I say,
 a great many spurious Books
 were early father'd on CHRIST, his
 Apostles, and other great Names,
 part whereof are still acknow-
 ledg'd to be genuin, and the rest
 to be forg'd, in neither of which
 Assertions I could be justly sup-
 pos'd to mean any Books of the N.
 Testament, as I shall presently e-
 vince. But Mr. BLACKHALL affirms,
 That I must intend *those now re-*
ceiv'd by the whole Christian
Church,

Church, for he knows of no other.
A cogent Argument truly ! and clearly proves his Logic to be just of a Piece with his Reading. I admire what this Gentleman has bin doing so long at the University, that he should be such a great Stranger to these things. But now I find a Man may be a very good Divine without knowing any thing of the Fathers, tho' a Layman is always referr'd to 'em when he starts any Difficulties, which makes him sooner acquiesce and swallow what he cannot chew than get Information at so dear a rate. But had Mr. BLACKHALL been dispos'd to deal ingenuously with me, he might see, without the help of the Fathers, that I did not mean the Books of the New Testament, when I mention'd Supposititious Pieces under the Name of CHRIST, since there is none ascrib'd to him in the whole

whole Bible ; nor do we read there that ever he wrote any thing, except once with his Finger on the *Joh. 8. 51* Ground, when he acquitted the Woman taken in Adultery : And, for ought appears to the contrary, Mr. BLACKHALL may deny that to be any Writing, because he knows not what it was ; yet some German Divines, as well read as himself, have presum'd to tell us the Contents of it, and came almost to excommunicating one another in their solemn Disputes about this weighty Affair. To this Negative Argument from the Silence of the New Testament, we may add the Positive Testimony of St. AUGUSTIN and St. JEROM, whercof the former affirms, ' That the Lord himself wrote ' * nothing, which makes it necessary we should believe those who

* Dicit Augustinus (de Consensu Evangel. l. 1. c. 7.) quod ipse Dominus nihil scripserit, ut aliis de illo scribentibus necesse sit credere.

‘ have written of him : And the latter says, ‘ That † our Saviour ‘ left no Volum of his own Doctrin behind him, as is extravagantly feign’d in most of the ‘ Apochryphal Pieces.

NOW to convince all the World that I did not intend by those Pieces the Books of the New Testament, as well as to shew the Rashness and Uncharitableness of Mr. BLACKHALL’S Assertion, I shall here insert a large Catalogue of Books anciently ascrib’d to JESUS CHRIST, his Apostles, their Acquaintance, Companions, and Contemporaries. Of these som remain still entirely extant, which I shall mark in their Places. We have several Fragments of others preserv’d by the Fathers ; and all that is left us of the rest are only their

† Salvator nullum volumen doctrinæ suæ proprium dereliquit, quod in plerisq; Apochryphorum deliramenta consingunt. Hieronym. in Commentar. ad Ezechielis, cap. 44.

bare Titles. I constantly refer to the Books wherein they are quoted, that every body may inform himself of the Fact. And after the Catalogue is ended, I shall distinguish the Books which the Ancients alledg'd as the genuine Works of the Apostles or Apostolic Men, from those that they rejected as the Forgeries of Heretics; which is a good Argument however, that they were receiv'd by som Party of Christians to countenance their Opinions. Next I design to name those Pieces of whose Spuriousness I doubted, tho' their Authority is still receiv'd; and so conclude this Point with som material Observations:

A Catalogue of Books mentioned by the Fathers and other Ancient Writers, as truly or falsely ascrib'd to JESUS CHRIST his Apostles, and other eminent Persons.

I. Of Books reported to be written by CHRIST himself, or that particularly concern him.

1. **H**IS Letter in answer to that of Abgarus King of Edeffa. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 13. You may also consult Cedrenus, Nicephorus, Constantinus Porphyrogenetus in the Manipulus of Combesisius, p. 79, &c. extant.
2. *The Epistle of Christ to Peter and Paul.* Augustin. contra Faustum, l. 28. c. 13.
3. *The Parables and Sermons of Christ.* Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 39.

4. *A Hymn which Christ secretly taught his Apostles and Disciples*, Augustin. Epist. 253. ad Cere-
tum Episcopum.
5. *A Book of the Magic of Christ*, Augustin. de consensu evangeli-
co, l. i. c. 9, 10. If it be not
the same with the Epistle to *Pe-
ter and Paul*.
6. *A Book of the Nativity of our
Saviour, of the Holy Virgin his
Mother, and her Midwife*. Gela-
sius apud Gratianum, Decret. i.
part. Dist. 15. c. 3. But I believe
this is the same with the Gospel
of *James*; whereof in its due
Order.

II. M A R Y.

1. *An Epistle to Ignatius*: Which
is now extant among his Works.
2. *Another Epistle to the Inhabitants
of Messina*: To be read among
the same *Ignatius's* Works.

3. *A Book of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary*, Usually publish'd with *St. Jerome's Works*.
4. *Another Book about the Death of Mary*, is said by *Lambecius* to ly unpublisch'd in the Emperor's Library, T. 4. p. 131.
5. We shall not insist on *the Book of Mary concerning the Miracles of Christ, and the Ring of King Solomon*.

III. P E T E R.

1. *The Gospel of Peter*. Origen. T. 11. Comment. in Mat. Hieron. in Catalog. Scriptor. Eccles. c. 1. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 3, 25. Idem, l. 6. c. 12.
2. *The Acts of Peter*. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 3. Hieronym. in Catalogo. Origen. Tom. 21. Comment. in Joan. Isidorus Pelusiota, l. 2. Epist. 99.
3. *The Revelation of Peter*. Clem. Alex. in Epitom. Theodot. Euseb.

feb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 25. l. 6.
c. 14. Idem, l. 3. c. 3. Hieron.
in Catalago, c. 1. Zozomen.
Hist. Eccles. l. 7. c. 19.

4. *The Epistle of Peter to Clemens*, is still shewn in the *Æthiopic* Language by the Eastern Christians. Tilmont, Hist. Eccles. Tom. 1. part. 2. pag. 497. And he has it from *Cotelerius*. *The Epistle of Clemens to James*, is publish'd in the *Clementines*.
5. *The Doctrine of Peter*. Origen, in præfat. ad libros principiorum Gregor. Nazian. epist. 16. Elias Levita in notis ad Nazianzeni Orationem ad cives trepidantes.
6. *The preaching of Peter* (if it be not the same with his *Doctrin*) Origen. Tom. 14. in Joan. Idem, in præfat. ad Libros principiorum. Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. 1. & l. 6, &c. Lactant. l. 4. c. 21. Autor libri de baptismo Hæreticorum inter opera Cypriani, Joan. Damascen. l. 2. parallel. c. 16.

7. *The Liturgy of Peter*, publish'd by *Lindanus* at *Antwerp* in the Year 1588, and at *Paris*, Anno 1595.
8. *The Itinerary, or Journys of Peter* (mention'd by *Epiphanius*, Hæres. 30. n. 15. and by *Athanasius* in his Synopsis of the Scriptures;) I believe to be the same with the *Recognitions of St. Clement* still extant, wherein we have a very particular Account of *Peter's Voyages and Performances*.
9. *The Judgment of Peter*. Hieronym. in Catalogo, c. 1.

IV. ANDREW.

1. *The Gospel of St. Andrew*. Gelasius in Decreto, &c.
2. *The Acts of St. Andrew*. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 25. Epiphan. Hæres. 47. n. 1. Item, 61, 63, 47. Philastrius in Hæres. 8. Gelasius in decreto; & Turribius

bius Asturicensis apud Paschasium Quesnerum inter epistolas Leonis magni, p. 459.

V. J A M E S.

1. *The Gospel of St. James, or his Protoevangelion.* Origen, Tom. II. Comment. in Mat. Epiphan. Hæres. 30. n. 23. Eustathius Antiochen. Comment. in Hexæmer. Epiphanius monachus in notis Allatii ad Eustathium. Multa ex hoc Evangelio mutasse Gregorium Nyssenum, tacito Jacobi nomine, monet Allatius ibid. This Book is now in Manuscript in the Library of Vienna, as is said by Lambecius, l. 5. p. 130. Father Simon says, he has seen two Manuscript Copies of it in the King of France's Library. *Nouvelles Observations*, &c. p. 4. It was printed by Neander and also by Grynæus in the first Volum of his *Orthodoxographs*.
2. *The*

2. *The Liturgy of St. James* is printed in the second Tome of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, at *Paris*, Anno 1624.
3. We mention'd before *The Book of St. James concerning the Death of the Virgin Mary* ; but there want not Reasons to believe *John*, and not *James*, to be the Author of it.

VI. JOHN.

1. *The Acts of St. John*. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 25. Epiphan. Hæres. 47. n. 1. Augustin. l. 1. contra adversarios legis & prophetarum. Turribii Scriptum inter Epistolas Leonis magni ; & Phot. in codice 229.
2. Another Gospel of *John*. Epiph. Hæres. 30. n. 23.
3. *The Itinerary, or Voyages of St. John*. Gelasius in decreto.
4. *The Liturgy of St. John*. It was together with several others printed

A M Y N T O R. 27

printed in *Syriac* at *Rome*. See
 Father *Simon* in his *Supplement*
 to *Leo* of *Modena*.

5. We spoke twice before of *St. John* or *St. James's Book* about the *Death of the Virgin Mary*.
6. The *Traditions of St. John*.
Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. ult.

VII. P H I L I P.

1. *The Gospel of St. Philip*. *Epiphan. Hæres. 26. n. 13. Timotheus Presbyter a Combefisio editus in tomo secundo Auctuarii.*
2. *The Acts of St. Philip*. *Gelasius in Deceto.*

VIII. B A R T H O L O M E W.

2. *The Gospel of St. Bartholomew*,
Hieronym. in prolegom. Com. in Mat. Dionysius Areopagita de Mystica Theologia, cap. 1.

IX. T H O-

IX. *T H O M A S.*

1. *The Gospel of St. Thomas.* Origen. in Homil. ad Luc. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 25. Nicephor. in Stichometria. Ambros. in Comment. ad Luc. Augustin. contra Faustum, l. 22. c. 79. Cyril. Hierosolym. Catech. 4. 6. Gelasius in decreto.
2. *The Acts of St. Thomas.* Epiphan. Hæres. 47. n. 1. Idem, Hæres. 61. n. 1. Augustin. contra Adimant. Idem, l. 1. de sermone Dei. Idem, contra Faustum, l. 22. c. 79.
3. *The Revelations of S. Thomas.* Gelasius in Decreto.
4. *The Itinerary of St. Thomas.* Gelasius in Decreto. Nicephor. in Stichometria.
5. *The Book of the Infancy of Christ by St. Thomas.* Epiphan. Hæres. 34. n. 18. Nicephor. in Stichometria. Gelas. in Decreto. Lambecius says,

says, that this Book lies in Manuscript in the Library of *Vienna*, Tom. 7. p. 20. Father *Simon* writes that there is a Manuscript Copy of it in the *French King's Library*; *Nouvelles Observations*, &c. It was printed two Years since in *Latin*, and *Arabic* with learned Notes by Mr. *Syke* at *Utrecht*.

X. M A T T H E W.

1. *The Liturgy of St. Matthew*. Tom. 27. *Bibliothecæ Patrum Lugdunensis*. *Natalis Alex.* in sæculo 1. part 1. c. 11. art. 1. *Gerardus*, tom. 1. *Conf. Cathol.* There is also a Liturgy attributed to *St. Mark*.

XI. T H A D D Æ U S.

1. *The Gospel of St. Thaddæus*. *Gelasius* in *Decreto*.

XII. MATTHIAS.

1. *The Gospel of St. Matthias.* Origen. Homil 1. in Luc. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 25. Hieronym. in prolegom. ad Comment. in Mat. Ambros. in Comment. ad Luc. Gelas. in Decreto.
2. *The Traditions of St. Matthias.* Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. 7.

XIII. P A U L.

1. *The Acts of St. Paul.* Origen. l. 1. c. 2. de Principiis. Idem, tom. 21. in Joan. Euseb. l. 3. c. 3. Hist. Eccles. c. 25. Philastrius, Hæres. 88.
2. *The Acts of Paul and Thecla.* Tertullian. de Baptismo. c. 17. Hieronym. de Script. Eccles. in Paulo & Luca. Augustin. l. 30. contra Faustum, c. 4. Gelasius in Decreto. Nuper Editus est hic Liber Oxonii, Epiphan. Hæres. 78. n. 16. Extant.

3. *The*

3. *The Epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans.* Tertullian adversus Marcion. l. 5. c. 17. Hieronym. in Catalogo, c. 5. Philastr. in Hæref. 88; Theodoret. tom. 8. Hæref. 47. n. 9. & alibi. Legatur etiam Theophylactus. extant.
4. *A third Epistle of Paul to the Thessalonians.* 2 Thes. 2. 2.
5. *A third Epistle to the Corinthians, and a second to the Ephesians.* 1 Cor. 5. 9. Ephes. 3. 3.
6. *The Epistles of Paul to Seneca, with those of Seneca to Paul.* Hieronym. in Catalogo, c. 12. Augustin. de Civitate Dei, l. 6. c. 10. Idem, in Epist. 54. ad Macedonium. extant.
7. *The Revelation of St. Paul.* Epiphan. Hæref. 38. n. 2. Zozomen. Hist. Eccles. l. 7. c. 19. Augustin. Tract. 98. in Joan. Theophylact. in Schol. ad 2. ad Corinth. Mic. Glycas. annal. part 2. Gelas. in Decreto. Zozomen. Hist. Eccles. l. 7. c. 19.
8. *The*

8. *The Preaching of St. Paul.* Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. 6. Lactant. l. 4. c. 21. Autor etiam Anonymus de non iterando Baptismo, à Rigaltio in observationibus ad Cyprianum insertus.
9. *Saint Paul's Narrative concerning the charming of Vipers, reveal'd to him by St. Michael in a Dream.* Lambecius says, that there is now a Manuscript of this Book in the Library of Vienna, Tom. 5. p. 103.
10. *The Anabaticon of Saint Paul, wherein he relates what he saw when he was snatch'd up into the third Heavens.* Epiphan. Hæres. 38. n. 2.
11. Som would infer from his own Words, that he wrote *a Gospel*; *In the day, says he, when God shall judge the Secrets of Men by Christ Jesus according to my Gospel.* Rom. 2. 16.

XIV. *Of the Gospels of Judas Iscariot, of Eve, and Abraham, &c.*

1. That none of the Apostles might be thought unable to write a Gospel we find one alledg'd by the *Caianites*, a Sect of the *Gnostics*, under the Name of *Judas Iscariot*. Epiphan. Hæres. 38. Theodoret. l. 1. de Hæret. Fabul. c. 15.
2. Nor should we wonder at *Judas's* being an Author, when we read of the Prophetical Gospel of *Eve*, whom the *Gnostics* reckon'd a Patroness of their Opinions, and to have receiv'd extraordinary Knowledg and Light in her Conferencé with the Serpent. Epiphan. Hæres. 26. n. 2.
3. The *Sethians*, another sort of *Gnostics*, shew'd an *Apocalypse* under the Name of the Patriarch *Abraham*; not to mention his learned Pieces of Astrology, nor the Books of *Adam* believ'd by the

D

Jews.

Jews. Epiphan. Hæres. 30. n. 16.
Isidor. Pelusiot. l. 2. Epist. 99.

4. *The Prophecy of Enoch*, which St. Jude quotes, is for the most part still extant, and was believ'd to be Genuin by several Fathers, who alledg it in defence of the Christian Religion. Origen. contra Cels. l. 5. Idem de Principiis. Tertullian. de habitu Muliebri, c. 3, &c.
5. *The Testament of the twelve Patriarchs, the Assumption of Moses, the Book of Eldad and Medad, the Psalms of King Solomon, the Revelation of Zachary, and the Vision of Isaiah*; but I forget that I am reciting the spurious Books of the Christians, and not of the Jews, who, when there's occasion, will afford as large a Catalogue.

XV. *Of the Gospels of the Hebrews
and the Egyptians, with som
general Pieces.*

1. *The Gospel of the twelve Apostles.*
Origen. Homil. 1. in Luc. Ambros. in Procem. Commentar. in Luc. Theophylact. Comment. in cap. 1. v. 1. secundum Lucam, &c. But this Piece was, I believe, Originally the same with
2. *The Gospel of the Hebrews.* Ignat. in Epist. ad Smyrnæos. Clem. Alex. l. 1. Stromat. Origen. tract. 8. in Matt. Idem, Homil. 14. in Jerem. & in Comment. ad Joan. Epiphan. Hæres. 30. n. 13, 22, &c. Hieronym. in Catalogo Script. Eccles. c. 4. & alibi Passim. This Gospel several have maintain'd to be the Original of St. Matthew.
3. *The Gospel of the Egyptians,* Clem. Rom. Epist. 2. ad Corinth. c. 12. Clem. Alex. l. 3. Stromat. Id. ibid.

Origen. Homil. in Luc. Epiphan. Hæres. 62. n. 2.

4. *The Apostles Creed*, tho' of late Years it begins to be call'd in question.

5. *The Doctrine and Constitution of the Apostles*. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 25. Athanas. in Synopsi. Epiphan. Hæres. 80. n. 7. 45. n. 5. 70. n. 10. 75. n. 6. Idem in Compendiaria fidei expositione, n. 22. Incertus de Aleatoribus inter Scripta Cypriani. There are *Διδαχαι* and *Διδασκαλῖαι*, or Doctrines, both attributed to every one of the Apostles singly, and also to their Companions and immediat Successors, too long to insert particularly. These Doctrins were bound with the other Books of the New Testament, as appears by the *Stichometry* of *Nephorus* and *Anastasius*; tho' it was not always pretended, that they were Original Pieces, but rather Collections of
what

what the Companions and Successors of the Apostles either heard, or pretended to hear from their own Mouths.

6. We need not produce our Authorities for *the Canons and Constitutions of the Apostles*, since so many learned Members of the Church of *England* have written large Volumes to prove 'em genuine.

7. *The Precepts of Peter and Paul*. This Book lies in Manuscript in the Great Duke's Library in *Florence*, if we believe *Ludovicus Jacobus a Sancto Carolo* in his *Bibliotheca Pontificia*, l. 1. pag. 177.

8. The present *Coptic* Christians have a Book of Doctrins, which they believe was compos'd by the twelve Apostles, with the Assistance of St. *Paul*, &c.

9. *The Gospel of Perfection*. Epiphan. Hæres. 26. n. 2.

10. *The Acts of all the Apostles, written by themselves.* Epiphan. Hæres. 30. n. 16. Isidor. Pelus. l. 2. epist. 99. Varadatus in epist. ad Leonem Imp. Tom. 4. Concil. Labbæi. col. 978. Jo. Malala, Chronograph. l. x.

11. *The Itinerary of all the Apostles, as well as of every one of 'em singly, was formerly extant.*

XVI. *Of the Writings of the Disciples and Companions of the Apostles.*

O F the Books ascrib'd to the Disciples and Companions of the Apostles, and which are still extant, som are thought genuin and of great Authority at this time: Every one were approv'd at som time, or by som Party: And yet I am of Opinion, that it is the easiest Task in the World (next to that of shewing the Ignorance and Superstition of the Writers) to
 prove

prove them all Spurious, and fraudulently impos'd on the Credulous. Those I mean, are the Epistles of *Clemens Romanus* to the *Corinthians*, his *Recognitions*, *Decretals*, and other Pieces bearing his Name : All the Epistles of *Ignatius* ; the Epistle of *Polycarpus* to the *Philippians*, with his other Writings ; The Acts of the Martyrdom of *Ignatius* and *Polycarpus* ; The Pastor of *Hermas* ; The Epistle of *Barnabas* ; The Works of *Dionysius* the *Areopagite* ; The Epistle of *Marcellus*, *Peter's* Disciple, to *Nereus* and *Achilleus*, and his Treatise of the Conflict of *Peter* and *Simon Magus* ; The Life of Saint *John*, by *Prochorus* ; The Petition of *Veronica* to *Herod* on the behalf of CHRIST ; The Passion of *Timothy* by *Polycrates* ; The Passions of *Peter* and *Paul* in two Books by *Linus* ; The two Epistles of *Martial* of *Limousin*, and the Life of the same by *Aurelianus* ; The Gospel of *Nicodemus* ; The Histo-

ry of the Apostolical Conflict by *Abdias*, who is said to be appointed first Bishop of *Babylon* by the Apostles ; The Passion of Saint *Andrew* written by the Presbyters of *Achaia* ; The Epistle of *Evodius*, entitul'd *the Light* ; the Altercation of *Jason* and *Papiscus* ; The Acts of *Titus* compos'd by *Zena*, St. *Paul's* Companion, with a multitude of other Acts and Passions. The Gospel of *Barnabas*, the Revelation of *Stephen*, the Passion of *Barnabas*, and the Epistles of *Joseph* the *Arimatheathean* to the *Britons* are quite lost ; and were they extant, would probably appear to be as foolish and fabulous as the rest.

XVII. *Of Pieces alledg'd in favor of Christianity, which were forg'd under the Name of Heathens.*

1. The Works of *Trismegistus* and *Asclepius*. extant.

2. The

2. The Books of *Zoroaster* and *Hy-
staspes*.
3. The *Sibyllin* Oracles cited so fre-
quently, and with such Autho-
rity by the Primitive Fathers, that
★ *Celsus* takes occasion from
thence to nick-name the Christi-
ans *Sibyllists*. extant,
4. The Letter of *Pontius Pilat* to
Tiberius, with the Speech of *Ti-
berius* to the Senat. extant.
5. The Epistle of *Lentulus*, giving
a Description of the Person of
CHRIST. extant.
6. The Epistles or Orders of *A-
drian*, *Antoninus Pius*, and *Mar-
cus Aurelius*, in favor of the
Christians. extant in *Justin
Martyr*, &c. &c. &c.

* Origen. contr. Cels. l. 5.

HERE'S a long List for Mr. BLACKHALL, who, 'tis probable, will not think the more meanly of himself for being unacquainted with these Pieces; nor, if that were all, should I be forward to think the worse of him on this Account: but I think he is to blame for denying that there were any such, because he knew nothing of 'em; much less should he infer from thence, that I deny'd the Scriptures; which Scandal however, because manifestly proceeding from Ignorance, I heartily forgive him, as every good Christian ought to do.

TO explain now therefore the several Members of the Passage in MILTON's Life: In the first place, by the spurious Pieces I meant, tho' not all, yet a good parcel of those Books in the Catalogue, which I am persuaded were partly forg'd by som more zealous than discreet Christians, to supply the brevity of
the

the Apostolic Memoirs ; partly by designing Men to support their privat Opinions, which they hop'd to effect by virtue of such respected Authorities : And som of 'em, I doubt, were invented by Heathens and Jews to impose on the Credulity of many wel-dipos'd Persons, who greedily swallow'd any Book for Divine Revelation that contain'd a great many Miracles, mixt with a few good Morals, while their Adversaries laught in their Sleeves all the while, to see their Tricks succeed, and were rivetted in their ancient Prejudices by the greater Superstition of such Enthusiasts.

IN the second place, by the Books of whose Spuriousness I said the World was not yet convinc'd, tho' in my privat Opinion I could not think 'em genuin, I meant those of the other great Persons, or the suppos'd Writings of certain Apostolic Men (as they call 'em) which are
at

at this present, as well as in ancient times, read with extraordinary Veneration. And they are the Epistle of BARNABAS, the Pastor of HERMAS, the Epistle of POLYCARPUS to the *Philippians*, the first Epistle of CLEMENS ROMANUS to the *Corinthians*, and the seven Epistles of IGNATIUS. These are generally receiv'd in the Church of *Rome*, and also by most Protestants; but those of the Church of *England* have particularly signaliz'd themselves in their Defence, and by publishing the correctest Impressions of them. The Ancients paid them the highest Respect, and reckon'd the first four of 'em especially, as good as any part of the New Testament. The Epistle of BARNABAS is by ★ CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, and ORIGEN, not only reckon'd genuin, but cited as Scripture; tho' he says in express Terms, That the Apostles, before their Conversion, were the greatest Sinners in

* Stromat. l. 2. & 5. Contra Cell. l. 1. de Princip. l. 3.

Nature ; which, if believ'd, would rob us of an Argument we draw from their Integrity and Simplicity against Infidels, to say nothing now of the many other ridiculous Passages in BARNABAS. The Pastor, or Visions, Precepts, and Similitudes of HERMAS (who is suppos'd to be the Person mention'd by PAUL in his Epistle to the *Romans*) is cited as Canonical Scripture by * IRENÆUS, CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, ORIGEN, and others, and was for such receiv'd by several Churches, tho' I think it the silliest Book in the World. The Epistle of POLYCARPUS (the suppos'd Disciple of St. JOHN) was read in the Churches of *Asia*, and is quoted by † IRENÆUS, EUSEBIUS and others. The Epistle of CLEMENS ROMANUS (whom they would have to be the same that's mention'd by PAUL in his Epistle to the *Phi-*

* Advers. Hæres. l. 4. c. 3. Stromat. l. I. 2. 4. 6. princip. l. I. c. 3. l. 2. c. 1. Homil. 10. in Hos. & alibi passim. † L. I. contr. Hæres. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 4. c. 14. Phot. cod. 126.

lippians)

lippians) is cited by * IRENÆUS, CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, ORIGEN, EUSEBIUS, and others. The Epistles of IGNATIUS are quoted by † IRENÆUS, EUSEBIUS, with several more ; but particularly by * ORIGEN, who says, that in one of 'em he found it very elegantly written, That *the Virginity of MARY was a Secret to the Devil ; which † Virginity, with her Delivery, and the Death of our Lord, IGNATIUS says, were Three famous Mysteries wrought in the Silence of God.* These Words may be now read in the Epistle of IGNATIUS to the *Ephesians*. Now these are the Books of whose Genuineness and Authority I took the Liberty to doubt, notwithstanding the better Opinion which is entertain'd of 'em by others. My present Business is

* Contra Hæres. l. 3. c. 3. Stromat. l. 1, 4, 5, 6. De Princip. l. 2. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 16, 36. l. 4. c. 22, 23. † Contra Hæres. l. 5. c. 28. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 36. * Homil. 6. in Luc.

† Ἐλαθε ἡ ἀρχὸντα τῷ αἰῶνι ὅτι τέτις ἡ παρθενία Μαρίας, καὶ ὁ πεπεπὸς αὐτῆς, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ θάνατος ὅτι κτείνε, καὶ ἡ μυστήριον κρουγῆς αἴνια ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ. Θεὸς ἐπαράχθην. Ep. ad Ephes.

not to insist on this Subject, but to clear my self of an Imputation, which I thought no body could infer from my Words. Yet since many were less knowing than I imagin'd, tho' Mr. BLACKHALL alone has the Candor of publishing his Weakness to the World, I assure 'em all that I alluded to these Books ; and I hope they will be just enough in allowing me best to explain my own meaning, and prove so tender of their own Reputation, as to consider well of it, before they censure me another time.

BUT tho' I will not, as I said, enter now into a particular Discussion of these Writings, yet I shall offer one thing to the Consideration of their Defenders. Either they really believe the Epistles of BARNABAS and CLEMENS (for Example) to be theirs, or to be supposititious. If not theirs, there's a speedy end of the Dispute, and I have attain'd my End without
more

more Argumentation. But if they think 'em genuin, why do they not receive 'em into the Canon of Scriptures, since they were the Companions and Fellow laborers of the Apostles, as well as St. MARK or St. LUKE? If this Quality was sufficient to entitle the two last to Inspiration, why should it not do as much for the two first? And if this be not all the Reason, pray let us know the true one, having never heard of any other. To say, that tho' the Books are authentic, yet they ought not to be receiv'd now into the Canon, because the Ancients did not think fit to approve 'em, is but a mere Evasion: For 'tis well known, that till after EUSEBIUS's time, neither the second Epistle of PETER, nor that of JAMES, or JUDE, with som others, were approv'd as Canonical; and yet they were afterwards receiv'd by the whole Church. Wherefore then may not we as well at this time establish

stablish the Epistles of CLEMENS and BARNABAS, if they be undoubtedly theirs, which I shall be persuaded their Patrons believe, when they quote 'em as Scripture, and then I know where to have them, and how to deal with 'em. But of this enough.

I SAID above, that by the spurious Pieces I meant only a great part of the Books which are recited in the Catalogue; for others of 'em do not seem to deserve so mean a Rank: and I am so far from rejecting all those Books of the New Testament which we now receive, that I am rather solicitous lest, as in the dark Ages of Popery, those we commonly call Apochryphal Books, were added to the Bible, so at the same time, and in as ignorant Ages before, several others might be taken away, for not suiting all the Opinions of the strongest Party. Nor is it unworthy observation, that most of these Books are condemn'd by the Decree

E

of

of Pope GELASIUS. How many true and spurious Gospels or Histories of CHRIST were extant in St. LUKE's time, God knows ; but that there were several may be evidently infer'd from his own Words, who tells
 LUC. I. I, THEOPHILUS, that many had under-
 2, 3. taken the same Work before him, and, as if he alluded to som spurious Relations, assures him, that he'll write nothing but what he receiv'd from such as had a perfect knowledg of those Matters from the beginning. That there should be first and last, but just the number of Four, I never heard of any that went about to demonstrat, except IRENÆUS the fam'd Successor of the Apostles ; and he positively * af-

* Firma & vera est nostra de illis ostentio ; Neque autem plura numero quam hæc sunt, neque rursus, pauciora capit esse Evangelia. Quoniam enim quatuor regiones mundi sunt in quo sumus, & quatuor principales Spiritus, & disseminata est Ecclesia super omnem terram ; columna autem & firmitas Ecclesiæ est Evangelium & spiritus viræ ; consequens est quatuor habere eam columnas undique flantes incorruptibilitatem, & vivificantes homines.—His igitur sic se habentibus vani omnes & indocti, & insuper audaces, qui frustrantur speciem Evangelii : & vel plures quam dictæ sunt, vel rursus pauciores inferunt personas Evangelii. *Adversus Hæres.* l. 3. 11.

firms, that there cannot be more,
 nor fewer than Four Gospels: ' For,
 says he, ' there be Four Regions of
 ' this World wherein we live, with
 ' Four principal Winds, and the
 ' Church is spread over all the
 ' Earth: But the Support and
 ' Foundation of the Church is the
 ' Gospel, and the Spirit of Life:
 ' Therefore it must follow, that it has
 ' Four Pillars, blowing Incorruptibi-
 ' lity on all sides, and giving Life
 ' to Men: Then he corroborats
 his Argument from the Four Che-
 rubims, and the Four Faces in EZE-
 KIEL's Vision, to wit, of a Lyon, Ezek: 6.
 an Ox, a Man, and an Eagle; 6, 10.
 which is the Reason, by the way,
 why the Four Evangelists are paint-
 ed with these Emblems in the Mass-
 Book and in our Common Pray'r-
 Book. So he concludes at last, That
 ' they are all vain, unlearn'd, and im-
 ' pudent, who after this would assert,
 ' that there were more or fewer than
 ' 4 Gospels. Where we may observe,

that Mr. BLACKHALL has the War-rant of an ancient Father for giving hard Names to such as condemn precarious Reasoning : And indeed it is but too manifest to be deny'd, that no Order of Men have more violated the Rules of Decency and Civility in their Writings, than those whose Business it is to teach others Moderation, Patience, and Forgiveness ; nor was there ever any Cause more defended by the Dint of Calumny than that of Religion, which least needed it of any other.

SEVERAL of these Books whereof I now treat, are quoted to prove important Points of the Christian Religion by the most celebrated Fathers, as of equal Authority with those we now receive ; and the Testimony of these Fathers was the principal Reason of establishing these in our present Canon, and is still alledg'd to that purpose by all that write in defence of the Scriptures.

tures. Of so much weight is this Testimony, that EUSEBIUS * rejects the Acts, Gospel, Preaching, and Revelation of PETER from being Authentic, for no other Reason, but because no Ancient or Modern Writer (says he) has quoted Proofs out of them. But herein EUSEBIUS was mistaken ; for the contrary appears by the Testimonies markt in the Catalogue, and which any body may compare with the Originals. In another place he † says, That the Gospels of PETER, THOMAS, MATTHIES, and such like, with the Acts of ANDREW, JOHN, and the other Apostles are spurious, because no Ecclesiastic Writer from

* Τότε τῶν ἐπικλημένων αὐτῷ πράξεων, καὶ τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν ὡνομασμένον εὐαγγέλιον, τότε λεγόμενον αὐτῷ κήρυγμα, καὶ τὰ καλεόμενα ἀποκαλύψεις, ὅλας ἐκ αἰσθητικῶν ἰσμεν παρεδωμένα. ὅτι μήτε ἀρχαίων μήτε τῶν κατ' ἡμᾶς πρὸς ἐκκλησιαστικὸς συγγραφεὺς ταῖς ὕψ' αὐτῶν συνεχίσαστο μαρτυρίαις. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 3.

† Ἡτοι ὡς Πέτρος, καὶ Θωμᾶς, καὶ Ματθαῖος, ἢ καὶ τίνων παρὰ τούτων ἄλλων εὐαγγέλια περιεχέουσιν ἢ ὡς Ἀνδρέας καὶ Ἰωάννης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστόλων πράξεις, ὧν ἐδ' ἐν ἑσθιμῶς ἐν συγγραμμάσιν τῶν κατὰ διαδοχὰς ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πρὸς ἀντὶς εἰς μνημῖον ἀγαγῆν ἠξίωσε. Ibid. c. 25.

the time of the Apostles down to his own, has vouchsaf'd to quote them, which is absolutely false of som, as we have already shewn. So that Mr. BLACKHALL is not the only Man, I find, who makes his own Reading the Measure of all Truth; and a Thousand to One but now he justifies this Practice, since he can prove it from Antiquity, and he has got the Authority of so great a Father on his side. Had EUSEBIUS found any of these Pieces cited by the precedent Orthodox Writers, he would have own'd them as the genuin Productions of the Apostles, and admitted them (as we say) into the Canon; but having met no such Citations, he presently concluded there were none, which made him reject those Books: And, I say, what I have already demonstrated, that Proofs were quoted out of som of 'em long before, so that they might still belong to the Canon for all

EUSEBIUS. TO

TO these Considerations two Objections may perhaps be made. First, It is unlikely, they ll say, that EUSEBIUS should not have read the Ancients ; nay, that the contrary appears by his many Citations out of them ; and that consequently those Works of the Fathers, which we have now in our Hands, are not the same which were read in his time, or that at least they are strangely adulterated, and full of Interpolations. With all my Heart : But then let us not be urg'd by their Authority in other Points no more than in this, since in one thing they may as well be alter'd and corrupted as in another ; and indeed, by a common Rule of Equity (being found chang'd in som places) they ought to be so reputed in all the rest, till the contrary be evidently prov'd.

THE second Objection is, That altho' these Pieces have bin acknowledg'd to be the Writings

of those Apostles whose Names they bear, at certain times, and in som Churches, yet they were expressly rejected by others. To this I answer, That there is not one single Book in the New Testament which was not refus'd by som of the Ancients as unjustly father'd upon the Apostles, and really forg'd by their Adversaries; which as no body thinks it now a good Reason to disapprove them, so I see not how it should any more conclude against my Opinion. But because the various Sects of those early Days did, like us, condemn one another for damnable Heretics; and the admitting or refusing, the framing or corrupting of certain Books, were som of the Crimes which were mutually imputed, I shall now insist only on the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, that of JAMES, the second of PETER, the second and third of JOHN, the Epistle

of JUDE, and the Revelation. These seven Pieces were a long time plainly doubted by the * Ancients, particularly by those whom we esteem the soundest part; and yet they are receiv'd, (not without convincing Arguments) by the Moderns. Now, I say, by more than a Parity of Reason, that the Preaching and Revelation of PETER (for Example) were receiv'd by the Ancients, and ought not therefore to be rejected by the Moderns, if the Approbation of the Fathers be a proper Recommendation of any Books.

* Let the third and twenty first Chapters of the Ecclesiastical History of *Eusebius* be consulted, with what *St. Jerome* has written on the same Subject.

THE Council of *Laodicea*, which was held about three hundred and sixty Years after CHRIST, and is the first Assembly wherein the Canon of Scripture was established, could not among so great a

variety of Books as were then a-broad in the World, certainly determin which were the true Monuments of the Apostles, but either by a particular Revelation from Heaven, or by crediting the Testimony of their Ancestors, which was always better preserv'd and convey'd by Writing than by Oral Tradition, the most uncertain Rule in Nature, witness the monstrous Fables of Papists, Rabbins, Turks, and the Eastern Nations both Christians and Idolaters. But of any extraordinary Revelation made to this Council we hear not a Word; and for the Books I defend, I have the same Testimony which is usually alledg'd in the behalf of others. However, I shall not be too hasty to make a final Decision of this Matter with my self, least I incur the dreadful Curse which the Author of the Revelation pronoun-

take

take away from that Book. Let Mr. BLACKHALL be assur'd, that if he must needs have me to be a Heretic I am not unteachable, tho' I would not have it reputed Obstinacy if I should not surrender without satisfactory Reasons. Instead therefore of censuring and calumniating (which ought not to be reckon'd Virtues in any Order of Men, and least of all in the Ministers of the Gospel) let such as are better enlighten'd endeavor to extricate the Erroneous out of these or the like Difficulties, that they may be able to distinguish truly, and that in such an extraordinary number of Books, all pretending equally to a Divine Origin, they may have som infallible Marks of discerning the proper Rule, lest they unhappily mistake the false one for the true.

HOW necessary it is to have the Canon of Scripture set in its due light, we may learn from the
an-

Ancient as well as our Modern Unbelievers. CELSUS * exclaims against the too great Liberty which the Christians (as if they were drunk, says he) took of changing the first writing of the Gospel three, or four, or more times, that so they might deny whatever was urg'd against 'em as retracted before. Nay, as low down as St. AUGUSTIN's time, was there not a very considerable Sect of the Christians themselves, I mean the *Manichæans*, who shewed other Scriptures, and deny'd the Genuineness of the whole New Testament. One of these call'd FAUSTUS, after shewing that his Adversaries disapprov'd of several things in the Old Testament, thus pursues his

* Τίνας τῶν πσεύοντων φήσιν (Κέλτ) ὡς ἐκ μέθης ἤκον-
τας εἰς τὸ ἐφεσθαι αἰσιν τοῖς μεταχαρατῆν ἐκ τῆ πρώτης γραφῆς
τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τριχῶ, καὶ τετραχῶ, καὶ πολλαχῶ καὶ μεταπλάττειν ἵν'
ἔχοιεν πρὸς τὰς ἐλέγχους ἀνείδου. Origen. l. 2. contra Cels.

† Argument : ‘ You think, says he,
 ‘ that of all Books in the World,
 ‘ the Testament of the Son only could
 ‘ not be corrupted, that it alone
 ‘ contains nothing which ought to
 ‘ be disallow’d ; especially when it
 ‘ appears, that it was neither written
 ‘ by himself nor his Apostles, but
 ‘ a long time after by certain ob-
 ‘ scure Persons, who, lest no Cre-
 ‘ dit should be given to the Sto-
 ‘ ries they told of what they could
 ‘ not know, did prefix to their
 ‘ Writings partly the Names of
 ‘ the Apostles, and partly of those
 ‘ who succeeded the Apostles ; af-
 ‘ firming that what they wrote
 ‘ themselves was written by these :

† Solius filii putatis testamentum non potuisse
 corrumpi ; solum non habere aliquid quod in se
 debeat improbari : præsertim quod nec ab ipso
 scriptum constat, nec ab ejus apostolis : sed lon-
 po post tempore à quibuldam incerti nominis
 viris, qui, nè sibi non haberetur fides scribentibus
 quæ nescirent, partim Apostolorum nomina, partim
 eorum qui Apostolos secuti viderentur, Scriptorum
 suorum frontibus indiderunt, asseverantes secun-

Where-

' Wherein they seem to me (con-
 ' tinues he) to have bin the more
 ' hainously injurious to the Disci-
 ' ples of Christ, by attributing
 ' to them what they wrote them-
 ' selves so dissonant and repugnant;
 ' and that they pretended to write
 ' those Gospels under their Names,
 ' which are so full of Mistakes, of
 ' contradictory Relations and Opi-
 ' nions, that they are neither cohe-
 ' rent with themselves, nor confi-
 ' stent with one another. What is
 ' this therefore but to throw a
 ' Calumny on good Men, and to fix
 ' the Accusation of Discord on the
 ' Unanimous Society of CHRIST'S
 ' Disciples? The same F A U S T U S

dum eos se scripsisse quæ scripserint. Quo magis
 mihi videntur injuria gravi affecisse discipulos
 Christi, quia quæ dissona iidem & repugnantia
 sibi scriberent, ea referrent ad ipsos, & secun-
 dum eos hæc scribere se promitterentur Evange-
 lia, quæ tantis sint referta erroribus, tantis con-
 trarietatibus narrationum simul ac sententiarum,
 ut nec sibi prorsus, nec inter se convenient. Quid
 ergo aliud est quam calumniari bonos, & Christi
 Discipulorum concordem cœtum in crimen devo-
 care discordiæ. *Augustin. contra Faust. l. 32. c. 2.*

a little after accuses his Adversaries, who had Power enough to be counted Orthodox, in these express Words : * ‘ Many things
 ‘ were foisted by your Ancestors in-
 ‘ to the Scriptures of our Lord,
 ‘ which, tho’ mark’d with his Name,
 ‘ agree not with his Faith. And no
 ‘ wonder, since, as those of our
 ‘ Party have already frequently
 ‘ prov’d, these things were neither
 ‘ written by himself nor his Apo-
 ‘ stles : but several Matters after
 ‘ their Decease were pick’d up
 ‘ from Stories and flying Re-
 ‘ ports by I know not what Set
 ‘ of Half-Jews ; and these not a-
 ‘ greeing among themselves, who

* Multa à majoribus vestris eloquiis Domini nostri inserta verba sunt, quæ nomine signata ipsius cum ejus fide non congruunt ; præsertim quia, ut jam sæpe probatum à nobis est, nec ab ipso hæc sunt, nec ab ejus Apostolis scripta : sed multa post eorum assumptionem à nescio quibus, & ipsis inter se non concordantibus Semi-judæis, per famas opinionésque comperta sunt.

‘ nevertheless publishing all these
 ‘ Particulars under the Names of
 ‘ the Apostles of the Lord, or of
 ‘ those that succeeded them, have
 ‘ feign’d their own Lyes and Errors
 ‘ to be written according to them.

Since therefore the *Manichæans* rejected the whole New Testament, since the *Ebionites* or *Nazaræns*, (who were the oldest Christians) had a different Copy of St. MATTHEW’S Gospel, and the *Marcionites*, had a very different one of St. LUKE’S ; since St. JOHN’S was attributed to CERINTHUS, all the Epistles of St. PAUL were deny’d by som, a different Copy of ’em shewn by others ; and that the seven Pieces we mention’d before, were rejected a long time by all Christians, al-

Qui tamen omnia eadem in Apostolorum Domini conferentes nomina, vel eorum qui secuti Apostolos viderentur, errores ac mendacia sua secundum eos se scripsisse mentiti sunt. Augustin. ibid. l. 33. c. 3.

most with universal Consent, it had much more become Mr. BLACKHALL'S Profession to appear better acquainted with these things, and commendably to spend his time in preventing the Mischievous Inferences which Heretics may draw from hence, or to remove the Scruples of doubting but sincere Christians, than so publicly to vent his Malice against a Man that never injur'd him, and who appears so little to deserve the Imputation of Incredulity, that his Fault (if it may be) does rather consist in believing more Scripture than his Adversaries.

WHAT need had Mr. BLACKHALL to inform that August Assembly how little he knew of the History of the Canon? A History of the greatest Importance, as well as containing the most curious Enquiries; and without an exact Knowledge whereof it is not conceivable that any Man can be fit

F to

to convince Gainsayers, or to demonstrat the Truth of the Christian Religion, which, I suppose he will not think fit to deny is one of the principal Duties of a Minister. How little soever he knew before, he cannot be ignorant any longer that there were a Multitude of other Pieces attributed to CHRIST and his Apostles, besides those now receiv'd by the whole Christian Church. He might at his Leisure have learnt so much from the Fathers, or at least from others that had study'd 'em; such as RIVET, Father SIMON, DU PIN, IITGIUS, Dr. CAYE, ERNESTUS GRABIUS who has lately publish'd som of those Fragments at *Oxford*, and several others; tho' he has occasion'd me to present him now with a much larger Catalogue than was publish'd by any of these. I could add more not there mentioned, and other Authorities for those which are there :

there : but I have already done more than enough to prove a thing, whereof, till the last thirtieth of *January*, I thought few Laymen wholly ignorant, much less any one of the Clergy. Indeed I never thought the History of our Canon so impartially handled, or so fully clear'd as a Matter of such great Importance deserves ; and I despair of Mr. BLACKHALL'S giving the World any Satisfaction in their Doubts concerning it. But I hope som abler Person of his Order may particularly write on this Subject ; which, if I see neglected also by them, I shall think it no Intrusion on their Office to undertake it my self : and if I ever write it, I promise it shall be the fairest History, and the only one of that kind that ever appear'd ; For I shall lay all the Matters of Fact together in their natural Order, without making the least Remark of my own, or giving it a Color in

favor of any Sect or Opinion, leaving all the Word to judge for themselves, and to build what they please with those Materials I shall furnish 'em.

I CONCLUDE this Point with one Observation, to shew with what Malice I am treated by some People, while others pass with them for the most Orthodox Men in the World, who have said infinitely more in plain and direct Words, than they could infer with all their Art from a few Expressions of mine, and which the most ignorant of my Adversaries could make no more than Insinuation at the worst. I talkt of spurious Pieces, and have now as well shewn what those Pieces were, as put a Distinction between 'em, and such as I thought genuin. But let us hear what a Person says, who, were he as much given to the World as many of his Friends, would make a more considerable Figure, considering his great Ser-

vices

vices to the National Church, and the Respect he reciprocally receives from it ; I mean the famous DODWELL, who alone, tho' a Layman, understands as much of Ecclesiastic History as the Divines of all Churches put together. His Words are these: * ' The Canonical Writings lay conceal'd in ' the Coffers of privat Churches or ' Persons, till the later Times of ' TRAJAN ; or rather perhaps of A- ' DRIAN ; so that they could not ' com to the Knowledg of the ' whole Church. ; For if they had ' bin publish'd, they wou'd have ' bin overwhelm'd under such a ' Multitude as were then of Apo- ' cryphal and Supposititious Books, ' that a new Examination and a

* Latitabant usque ad recentiora illa, seu Trajani, seu etiam fortasse Hadriani tempora, in privatarum ecclesiarum, seu etiam hominum Scri- niis scripta illa Canonica, nè ad Ecclesiæ Catho- licæ notitiam pervenirent. Aut si in publicum fortasse prodissent, adhuc tamen tanta Scriptorum Apocryphorum, Pseudepigraphorumque

new Testimony would be necessary to distinguish 'em from these false ones. And it is from this New Testimony (whereby the genuine Writings of the Apostles were distinguish'd from the spurious Pieces which went under their Names) that depends all the Authority which the truly Apostolic Writings have formerly obtain'd, or which they have at present in the Catholic Church. But this fresh Attestation of the Canon is subject to the same Inconveniences with those Traditions of the Ancient Persons that I defend, and whom IRENÆUS both heard

turba obruebantur, ut ab iis internosci non possent, quin novo opus esset examine, novoque Testimonio. Et ab illo novo testimonio, quo factum est ut ab Apocryphis falsoque Apostolorum nomine insignitis Scripta eorum genuina distinguerentur, pendet omnis illa quam deinceps obtinebant, & quam hodièque obtinent in Ecclesia Catholica Scripta vera Apostolica, Autoritas. Atqui recentior illa Canonis attestatio iisdem erat incommodis obnoxia, quibus & nostra Senum, quos vidit Irenæus audivitque, Traditi-

and

‘ and saw: for it is equally distant
 ‘ from the Original, and could not
 ‘ be made, except by such only as
 ‘ had reacht those remote Times.
 ‘ But ’tis very certain, that before
 ‘ the Period I mention’d of TRA-
 ‘ JAN’s time, the Canon of the Sacred
 ‘ Books was not yet fixt, nor any
 ‘ certain number of Books re-
 ‘ ceiv’d in the Catholic Church,
 ‘ whose Authority must ever after
 ‘ serve to determin Matters of
 ‘ Faith; neither were the spurious
 ‘ Pieces of Heretics yet rejected,
 ‘ nor were the faithful admonisht
 ‘ to beware of them for the future.
 ‘ Likewise the true Writings of the

right

tiones; erat enim illa tanto intervallo ab origi-
 ne remota, nec plurimum esse poterat quam eorum
 qui etiam remotiora illa tempora attrigerant.
 Atquæ certè ante illam Epocham, quam dixi
 Trajani, nondum constitutus est librorum Sacro-
 rum Canon, nec receptus aliquis in Ecclesia Ca-
 tholica librorum certus numerus, quos deinde
 adhibere oportuerit in sacris fidei causis dijudi-
 candis, nec rejecti Hæreticorum Pseudepigraphi,
 monitive fideles, ut ab eorum usu deinde caverent.
 Sic autem vera Apostolorum Scripta cum

' Apostles us'd to be so bound up in
 ' one Volum with the Apocryphal,
 ' that it was not manifest by any
 ' Mark or public Censure of the
 ' Church, which of 'em should be
 ' prefer'd to the other. We have at
 ' this Day certain most authentic
 ' Ecclesiastic Writers of those times,
 ' as CLEMENS ROMANUS, BARNABAS,
 ' HERMAS, IGNATIUS, and POLYCAR-
 ' pus, who wrote in this same Or-
 ' der wherein I have nam'd 'em,
 ' and after all the other Writers
 ' of the New Testament, except
 ' JUDE and the two JOHNS. But in
 ' HERMAS you shall not meet with
 ' one Passage, or any mention of

Apochryphis in iisdem Voluminibus compingi
 solebant, ut nulla prorsus nota aut censura
 Ecclesiæ publica constaret quæ quibus essent
 anteferenda. Habemus hodièque horum tem-
 porum Scriptores Ecclesiasticos luculentissimos,
 Clementem Romanum, Barnabam, Hermam,
 Ignatium, Polycarpum, qui hoc nimirum scrip-
 terint, quo illos nominavi ordine, omnes reliquis
 novi Testamenti Scriptis (exceptis Judæ, &
 Joannis utriusque) juniores. At novi Testa-
 menti in Herma ne quidem unum locum in-
 ' the

the New Testament : Nor in all
 the rest is any one of the Evange-
 lists call'd by his own Name.
 And if somtimes they cite any
 Passages like those we read in our
 Gospels, yet you'll find 'em so
 much chang'd, and for the most
 part so interpolated, that it can-
 not be known whether they pro-
 duc'd them out of ours, or som
 Apocryphal Gospels: nay, they
 somtimes cite Passages, which it
 is most certain are not in the pre-
 sent Gospels. From hence there-
 fore it is evident, that no dif-
 ference was yet put by the
 Church between the Apochryphal

veneris. Apud reliquos nè unum quidem
 Evangelistam nomine suo compellatum. Et
 si quos locos fortè proferant quibus similia in
 nostris leguntur Evangeliiis ; ita tamen illos
 mutatos ut plurimum interpolatosque reperi-
 es, ut sciri nequeat an è nostris illos, an ex aliis
 produxerint Apocryphis Evangeliiis. Sed & A-
 pocrypha adhibent iidem aliquoties, quæ certum
 est in hodiernis non haberi Evangeliiis. Ut
 inde constet nullum adhuc inter Apocryphos
 and

‘ and Canonical Books of the
 ‘ New Testament ; especially if it
 ‘ be consider’d, that they pass no
 ‘ Censure on the Apochryphal, nor
 ‘ leave any Mark whereby the Rea-
 ‘ der might discern that they at-
 ‘ tributed less Authority to the
 ‘ spurious than to the genuin Go-
 ‘ spels : from whence it may
 ‘ reasonably be suspected, that if
 ‘ they cite somtimes any Passages
 ‘ conformable to ours, it was not
 ‘ don thro’ any certain design, as if
 ‘ dubious things were to be con-
 ‘ firm’d only by the Canonical
 ‘ Books ; so as it is very possible

Canonicósque novi Testamenti libros constitu-
 tum esse ab Ecclesia discrimen, præsertim si & illa
 quoque accedat observatio quod censuram nullam
 Apocryphis adjungant ; sed nec aliàm aliquam
 notam unde possit lector colligere minus illos
 Apocryphis tribuisse, quam veris tribuerint E-
 vangeliis. Inde prona est suspicio siqua fortè
 loca produxerint cum nostris consentientia, nullo
 tamen certo id factum esse consilio, quo consti-
 tutum fuerat res dubias è Canonicis esse
 confirmandas ; fierique adeo possit ut & illa
 ‘ that

‘ that both those and the like Pas-
 ‘ sages may have bin borrow’d
 ‘ from other Gospels besides these
 ‘ we now have. But what need I
 ‘ mention Books that were not Ca-
 ‘ nonical? when indeed it does not
 ‘ appear from those of our Canoni-
 ‘ cal Books which were last written,
 ‘ that the Church knew any thing
 ‘ of the Gospels, or that Clergy-
 ‘ men themselves made a common
 ‘ use of ’em. The Writers of
 ‘ those times do not chequer their
 ‘ Works with Texts of the New
 ‘ Testament, which yet is the Cu-
 ‘ stom of the Moderns, and was
 ‘ also theirs in such Books as they

*similia ex aliis tamen, quam quæ habemus,
 deprompta fuerint Evangeliiis. Sed quid ego li-
 bros memorem minimè Canonicos? Nè quidem
 è Canonicis ipsis recentioribus constat Ecclesiæ
 innotuisse Evangelia, atque Ecclesiasticis in usũ
 fuisse vulgari. Non solent illius ævi Scriptores
 novi Testamenti locis Scripta sua velut opere
 tessellato ornare, qui tamen recentiorum mos est,
 qui & suus erat in illis quas agnoscebant ipsi*

‘ acknowledg’d for Scripture ; for
 ‘ they most frequently cite the
 ‘ Books of the Old Testament,
 ‘ and would doubtless have don
 ‘ so by those of the New, if they
 ‘ had then bin receiv’d as Cano-
 ‘ nical. St. PAUL cites a Saying of
 A&A. 20. ‘ our Lord in the Acts of the A-
 35. ‘ postles ; which, if he had it out
 ‘ of any Writing, was not cer-
 ‘ tainly out of these we now have.
 ‘ The Gospels continu’d so con-
 ‘ ceal’d in those Corners of the
 ‘ World where they were written,
 ‘ that the latter Evangelists knew no-
 ‘ thing of what the Precedent wrote:
 ‘ Otherwise there had not bin so

Scripturis: Veteris enim Testamenti libros pro-
 ferunt sapissimè, prolatu i proculdubio & novi
 Testamenti Scripta, si & illa fuissent in Canonem
 recepta. Effatum Domini nostri profert Sanctus
 Paulus, *Act. 20. 35.* Illud si è Scripto aliquo pro-
 duxit, non certè ex aliquo, quod habemus, Evan-
 gelio. Sic latuerant in illis terrarum angulis, in
 quibus Scripta fuerant, Evangelia, ut nè quidem
 resciverint recentiores Evangelistæ quid scripsis-
 sent de iisdem rebus antiquiores. Aliter foret
 ma-

‘ many apparent Contradictions,
 ‘ which, almost since the first Con-
 ‘ stitution of the Canon, have ex-
 ‘ ercis’d the Wits of learned Men.
 ‘ Surely if St. LUKE had seen that
 ‘ Genealogy of our Lord which is
 ‘ in St. MATTHEW, he would not
 ‘ himself have produc’d one whol-
 ‘ ly different from the other,
 ‘ without giving the least Reason
 ‘ for this Diversity. And when in
 ‘ the Preface to his Gospel he tells
 ‘ the occasion of his Writing;
 ‘ which is, that he undertook it,
 ‘ being furnisht with the Relati-
 ‘ ons of such as were Eye-witnes-
 ‘ ses of what he writes, he plainly

nè tot essent *ἐναντιοφανῆ*, quæ ferè à prima usque
 Canonis constitutione Eruditorum Hominum
 ingenia exercuerint. Certè Sanctus Lucas si
 Genealogiam illam Domini in Matthæo vidisset,
 non aliam ipse, nihilque ferè habentem com-
 munè, produxisset, nè quidem minima consilii
 tam diversi edita ratione. Et cum novæ Scripti-
 onis edit in præfatione causam, quod ipse *ἀπὸ τῶν*
 narrationibus adjutus eam fuerit aggressus, id
 planè innuit destitutos hoc subsidio fuisse visorum
 ‘ in-

' intimats, that the Authors of
 ' the Gospels which he had seen,
 ' were destitute of this Help : So
 ' that neither having seen them-
 ' selves what they relate, nor
 ' with any Care or Diligence
 ' consulted such as had seen them,
 ' their Credit was therefore dubi-
 ' ous and suspected ; whence it
 ' must necessarily follow, that the
 ' Writers of those Gospels, which
 ' LUKE had seen, were not at all
 ' the same with our present Evan-
 ' gelists. So far Mr. DODWELL ;
 and (excepting the Genuineness
 of the Epistles of CLEMENS, BAR-
 NABAS, and the rest ; for they are
 incontestably ancient) I agree with
 him that the Matters of Fact are

à se Evangeliorum auctores, ita nimirum non
 fuisse ipsos *αὐτότας* ut nè quidem *αὐτότας* cum cura
 aliqua & sedulitate consuluerint, vacillare proinde
 meritòque dubiam eorum fuisse fidem ; ut planè
 alios fuisse necesse sit Evangelicæ Historiæ Scri-
 tores à Luca viros, à nostris, quos habemus, E-
 vangelistis. *Dissert. 1. in Iren. §§. 38, 39.*

all

all true ; tho' I am far from drawing the same Inference from 'em as he has don, that there is an equal Proof for Episcopacy as for the Canon of Scripture, which is the Testimony of the Fathers of the Second and Third Centuries ; and that the Disciplin was better known, and preserv'd than the Doctrin of the Apostles. Whoever has an Inclination to write on this Subject is furnisht from this Passage with a great many curious Disquisitions, wherein to shew his Penetration and Judgment, as how the immediat Successors and Disciples of the Apostles could so grossly confound the genuin Writings of their Masters, with such as were falsly attributed to them ; or since they were in the dark about these Matters so early, how came such as follow'd 'em by a better Light ; why all those Books which are cited by CLEMENS and the rest should not be counted equally

qually Authentic; and what stress should be laid on the Testimony of those Fathers, who not only contradict one another, but are often inconsistent with themselves in their Relations of the very same Facts; with a great many other Difficulties, which deserve a clear resolution from any capable Person, tho' none may safely propose 'em but Mr. DODWELL, who I heartily wish were always as free and unprejudic'd as he is really learned.

T H U S have I defended and explain'd my self against Mr. BLACHALL's Accusation: nor do I question but I have given entire Satisfaction to all impartial Men, and lovers of Truth. But there's another sort of People whom I despair of ever contenting. These never fail of finding in the Writings of their Adversary, not what is there, but what they have a mind should be so, to represent him

him odious or dangerous. All the Protestations in the World can signifie nothing with them; nor is it more safe than otherwise to prove the contrary of what is laid to one's Charge; for they are sagacious enough to discover the hidden Poyson of every Word, and will be sure to give loud warning of the Danger, to shew where the Snake lies in the Grass, and to tell what's in the Belly of the *Trojan* Horse. But I shall not be in great pain how such People apprehend me, if I have the Happiness to please the moderat and discerning part of Mankind.

G

The

The Complete
H I S T O R Y
 O F

Icon Basilike.

MR. BLACKHALL, who, by a public Provocation, would needs engage me in a Controversie about spurious Books, has not confin'd me to expose the Impositions of Antiquity alone, tho' it be pretty plain, that this is Employment enough for one body; but he likewise accuses me of not being more favorable to a Modern *Saint*, as he is pleas'd to stile King CHARLES the First. 'That excellent Book, 'which, he says, was compos'd by 'himself in the time of his Distresses, will, he supposes, be an ever-

everlasting Evidence of his profiting under his Sufferings to after Ages, notwithstanding the Endeavors that have bin formerly us'd to prove it spurious, and the Confidence of a late Writer (the Author of MILTON's Life) asserting it to be so, without either producing any new Evidence for the Proof of his Assertion ; or offering one Word in answer to those just and rational Exceptions that had bin made before to those only Testimonies which he insists upon to prove it a Forgery ; or making any Exceptions to those later Evidences that have bin produc'd to prove it Authentic. Whether this Book was compos'd by himself is our Business at present to enquire, and shall be quickly determin'd : for as to his improving by his Sufferings I will not deny what I hope, and Charity commands me to believe.

The Reason why I produc'd no new Evidence to prove the spuriousness of *Icon Basilike* was, because I thought the old ones sufficient. I vouchsaf'd no Answer to the Exceptions made to those Testimonies, because I neither thought 'em just nor reasonable. And I would not discuss the Facts that have bin since alledg'd to prove the Book Authentic, because I intended not before to write a just Dissertation on this Subject, and so was not oblig'd to mention all the Particulars relating to it. If Mr. BLACKHALL does not think this Answer satisfactory, I shall make amends now for all former Omissions; and, being very desirous to content him, will follow that same Method he was pleas'd to chalk me out in his Sermon.

I N the first place therefore, to make this Discourse complete, and that the Evidence of the several Parts whereof it consists, may the better

better appear by laying 'em all together, I shall here insert the Abstract which I made of Dr. WALKER'S Book in MILTON'S Life, with ANGLESEY'S *Memorandum*, and the other Testimonies ; I shall secondly give particular Answers to the Exceptions that have bin made to all these Pieces : And lastly, shew the invalidity of the Facts which are alledg'd to prove King CHARLES the First was the true Author of *Icon Basilike*. I have not undertaken this Work out of Affection or Opposition to any Party, nor to reflect on the Memory of that unfortunat Prince, whose officious Friends are much more concern'd ; but to clear my self from a public Charge, and to discover a pious Fraud, which deserves not to be exempted from Censure for being the Contrivance of a Modern Bishop, no more than those of the ancient Fathers of the Church.

THE Relation of the whole Fact in MILTON'S Life is after this manner. ' In the Year 1686, Mr. ' MILLINGTON hap'ning to sell the ' late Lord ANGLESEY'S Library by ' Auction, put up an *Ikon Basilike*; ' and a few bidding very low for it, ' he had leisure to turn over the ' Leaves, when to his great Sur- ' prize he perceiv'd written with ' the same noble Lord's own ' Hand, the following *Memoran- dum*.

KING CHARLES the Se-
cond, and the Duke of
York, did both (in the last
Sessions of Parliament,
1675: when I shew'd them
in the Lords House the
written Copy of this
Book, wherein are som
Corrections and Alterati-
ons written with the late
King

King CHARLES the First's own Hand) assure me, that this was none of the said King's compiling, but made by Dr. GAUDEN Bishop of Exeter; which I here insert for the undeceiving of others in this point, by attesting so much under my own Hand.

ANGLESEY.

‘ This occasion’d the World to
 ‘ talk; and several knowing the
 ‘ Relation which the late Dr. AN-
 ‘ THONY WALKER, an *Essex* Divine,
 ‘ had to Bishop GAUDEN, they in-
 ‘ quir’d of him what he knew con-
 ‘ cerning this Subject, which he
 ‘ then verbally communicated to
 ‘ them: But being afterwards
 ‘ highly provok’d by Dr. HOLLINGS-

‘ WORTH’s harsh and injurious Re-
‘ flections, he was oblig’d in his
‘ own Defence to print an Ac-
‘ count of that Book, wherein are
‘ fufficient Answers to all the Scr-
‘ ples or Objections that can be
‘ made, and whereof I here in-
‘ sert an exact Epitome. He tells
‘ us in the first place, that Dr.
‘ GAUDEN was pleas’d to acquaint
‘ him with the whole Design, and
‘ shew’d him the Heads of divers
‘ Chapters, with som others that
‘ were quite finish’d : and that Dr.
‘ GAUDEN asking his Opinion of the
‘ thing and he declaring his Dis-
‘ satisfaction that the World should
‘ be so impos’d upon, GAUDEN bid
‘ him look on the Title, which was
‘ *the King’s Portraiture* ; for that no
‘ Man is suppos’d to draw his
‘ own Picture. A very nice Evafi-
‘ on ! he further acquaints us,
‘ that som time after this, being
‘ both in *London*, and having din’d
‘ together, Dr. GAUDEN took him
‘ along

‘ along with him to Dr. DUPPA the
‘ Bishop of *Salisbury* (whom he
‘ made also privy to his Design)
‘ to fetch what Papers he had left
‘ before for his perusal, or to
‘ shew him what he had since writ-
‘ ten : and that upon their return
‘ from that place, after GAUDEN
‘ and DUPPA were a while in pri-
‘ vat together, the former told
‘ him the Bishop of *Salisbury*
‘ wish’d he had thought upon two
‘ other Heads, the Ordinance a-
‘ gainst the Common Pray’r Book,
‘ and the denying his Majesty the
‘ Attendance of his Chaplains ;
‘ but that DUPPA desir’d him to finish
‘ the rest, and he would take upon
‘ him to write two Chapters on
‘ those Subjects, which according-
‘ ly he did. The reason, it seems,
‘ why Dr. GAUDEN himself would
‘ not perform this, was, first, that
‘ during the Troubles he had for-
‘ born the use of the Liturgy,
‘ which he did not extraordinarily
‘ ad-

' admire; and secondly, that he
 ' had never bin the King's Chap-
 ' lain, whereas Dr. DUPPA was
 ' both his Chaplain, his Tutor,
 ' and a Bishop, which made him
 ' more concern'd about these Par-
 ' ticulars. Thirdly, Dr. WALKER
 ' informs us that Dr. GAUDEN told
 ' him he had sent a Copy of *Icon Ba-*
 ' *silike* by the Marquiss of *Hartford*
 ' to the King in the *Isle of Wight*;
 ' where it was, we may be sure, that
 ' he made those Corrections and Al-
 ' terations with his own Pen, men-
 ' tion'd in my Lord ANGLESEY's
 ' *Memorandum*: and which gave oc-
 ' casion to som then about him that
 ' had accidentally seen, or to whom
 ' he had shown the Book, to believe
 ' the whole was his own. Fourth-
 ' ly, Dr. GAUDEN, after the Resto-
 ' ration, told Dr. WALKER, that the
 ' Duke of *York* knew of his being
 ' the real Author, and had own'd
 ' it to be a great Service; in con-
 ' sideration of which, it may be,
 ' the

' the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, tho'
 ' he was afterwards put off with
 ' that of *Worcester* was promis'd
 ' him. And, notwithstanding it
 ' was then a Secret, we now know
 ' that in expectation of this Tran-
 ' slation, the great House on *Clap-*
 ' *ham* Common was built indeed
 ' in the Name of his Brother Sir
 ' DENYS, but really to be a Mansion-
 ' house for the Bishops of *Winche-*
 ' *ster*. Fifthly, Dr. WALKER, says,
 ' that Mr. GAUDEN the Doctor's
 ' Son, his Wife, himself, and Mr.
 ' GIFFORD who transcrib'd it, did
 ' believe it as firmly as any Fact
 ' don in the place where they
 ' were; and that in that Family
 ' they always spoke of it among
 ' themselves (whether in Dr. GAU-
 ' DEN's Presence or Absence) as un-
 ' doubtedly written by him, which
 ' he never contradicted. We learn,
 ' Sixthly, that Dr. GAUDEN, after
 ' part of it was printed, gave to
 ' Dr. WALKER with his own Hand
 ' what

' what was last sent to *London* ;
 ' and after shewing him what it
 ' was, seal'd it, giving him cautio-
 ' nary Directions how to deliver
 ' it, which he did on *Saturday* the
 ' 23d of *December*, 1648. for Mr.
 ' ROYSTON the Printer, to Mr. PEA-
 ' cock Brother to Dr. GAUDEN'S
 ' Steward, who, after the Impres-
 ' sion was finish'd, gave him, for
 ' his Trouble, six Books, whereof
 ' he always kept one by him. To
 ' these Particulars Dr. WALKER
 ' adds, that the Reason why the
 ' Covenant is more favorably men-
 ' tion'd in *Ikon Basilike*, than the
 ' King or any other of his Party
 ' would do, was because Dr. GAU-
 ' DEN himself had taken it : That
 ' in the Devotional part of this
 ' Book there occur several Ex-
 ' pressions which were habitual to
 ' GAUDEN in his Prayers, which al-
 ' ways in privat and public were
 ' conceiv'd or extemporary ; and
 ' that to his Knowledge it was
 ' Dr.

‘ Dr. GAUDEN, being best acquaint-
‘ ted with the Beauty of his own
‘ Sayings, who made that Colle-
‘ ction of Sentences out of *Ikon*
‘ *Basilike*, intitul’d, *Apophthegma-*
‘ *ta Caroliniana*. These and som
‘ Observations about the same in-
‘ dividual Persons variation of Stile
‘ on different Subjects, with the
‘ facility and frequency of perso-
‘ nating others, may be futher
‘ consider’d in Dr. WALKERS Ori-
‘ ginal Account. In this conditi-
‘ on stood the Reputation of this
‘ Book, till the last and finishing
‘ discovery of the Imposture was
‘ made after this manner. Mr.
‘ ARTHUR NORTH, a Merchant now
‘ living on *Tower-hill*, *London*, a
‘ Man of good Credit, and a Mem-
‘ ber of the Church of *England*,
‘ marry’d the Sister of her that was
‘ Wife to the Doctor’s Son,
‘ CHARLES GAUDEN, who dying, left
‘ som Papers with his Widow, a-
‘ mong which Mr. NORTH, being
‘ con-

' concern'd about his Sister in Law's
 ' Affairs, found a whole Bundle
 ' relating to *Ikon Basilike* : These
 ' Papers old Mrs. GAUDEN left to
 ' her darling Son JOHN, and he to
 ' his Brother CHARLES. There is
 ' first a Letter from Secretary
 ' NICHOLAS to Dr. GAUDEN. 2. The
 ' Copy of a Letter from Bishop
 ' GAUDEN to Chancellor HYDE, where,
 ' among his other Deserts, he pleads
 ' that what was don like a King,
 ' should have a Kinglike Retributi-
 ' on ; and that his design in it was
 ' to comfort and incourage the
 ' King's Friends, to expose his E-
 ' nemies, and to convert, &c.
 ' There is, 3. The Copy of a Let-
 ' ter from the Bishop to the Duke
 ' of *York*, wherein he strongly urg-
 ' es his Services. 4. A Letter
 ' under Ghancellor HYDE's own
 ' Hand, dated the 13th of *March*,
 ' 1661. wherein he expresses his
 ' uneasiness under the Bishop's im-
 ' portunity, and excuses his inabi-
 ' lity

‘ lity yet to serve him : but to-
‘ wards the Conclusion it contains
‘ these remarkable Words : *The*
‘ *Particular you mention has indeed*
‘ *bin imparted to me as a Secret ; I*
‘ *am sorry I ever knew it : and when*
‘ *it ceases to be a Secret, it will please*
‘ *none but Mr. MILTON.* There are
‘ other Papers in this Bundle, but
‘ particularly a long Narrative of
‘ Mrs. GAUDEN’S own writing, irre-
‘ fragably shewing her Husband to
‘ be Author of *Ikon Basilike*. It
‘ intirely confirms Dr. WALKER’S
‘ Account, and contains most of
‘ the Facts we have hitherto rela-
‘ ted, with many other curious
‘ Circumstances too long to be
‘ here inserted, yet too extraordi-
‘ nary not to be known ; wherefore
‘ I refer the Reader to the Original
‘ Paper, or to the faithful Ex-
‘ tract made out of it before se-
‘ veral learned and worthy Persons,
‘ and which is printed in a Paper
‘ intitul’d, *Truth brought to Light*.
‘ Thus

‘ Thus came all the World to be
‘ convinc’d of this notorious Im-
‘ posture ; which as it was dexte-
‘ rously contriv’d, and most cun-
‘ ningly improv’d by a Party
‘ whose Interest oblig’d ’em to
‘ keep the Secret, so it happen’d to
‘ be discover’d by very nice and
‘ unforeseen Accidents. Had not
‘ GAUDEN bin disappointed of *Win-*
‘ *chester*, he had never pleaded his
‘ Merit in this Affair ; nor would
‘ his Wife have written her Narra-
‘ tive , had King CHARLES the
‘ Second bestow’d one half Years
‘ Rent on her after her Husband’s
‘ decease ; which, upon her Peti-
‘ tion, and considering her nume-
‘ rous Family, none could ima-
‘ gin should be refus’d. It was a
‘ slighter Accident that begot a
‘ a Confession from two Kings,
‘ and CHARLES’s own Sons. And I
‘ doubt if any other than one of
‘ Mr. MILLINGTON’s great Curiosity,
‘ and no Bigotry, had the dispo-
‘ sal

' fal of my Lord ANGLESEY's Books,
 ' we should never have heard of
 ' the *Memorandum*. Had not Dr.
 ' HOLLINGWORTH's indiscreet Zeal
 ' provok'd the only Man then a-
 ' live who had any personal know-
 ' ledg of this Business, Dr. WALKER
 ' had never publish'd his Account;
 ' nor would the whole Discovery
 ' be so complete, without the least
 ' Intricacy or Question, without
 ' Mr. NORTH's Papers.

THIS is the complete History of
Ikon Basilike, as it is suppos'd to
 be a Forgery ; and we must next
 proceed to examin the Exceptions
 made to it, as they are collected
 by Mr. WAGSTAF in his *Vindicati-*
of King CHARLES the Martyr. To
 begin with my Lord ANGLESEY's
Memorandum, 'tis urg'd, that it does
 not particularly express by the
 Date whether it meant the last
 Session of Parliament before the
 writing of it, or the last Session of
 H the

the Year 75. when it is plain that he meant the last or Winter Session ; and that it was therefore the immediat Session preceding the writing of this *Memorandum*. To say that there is no Witness to it is a very singular sort of Objection, when his Lordships Relations, and all that have seen this and his other Writings, own it to be his Hand. It is not likely that there were any Witnesses of the Royal Brother's telling him their Opinion of *Icon Basilike* : Nor is there any thing more common than for learned or great Men to leave such *Memorandums* in a Book concerning the Author of it when it was a Question, or about any other Secret relating to it, which they thought they had discover'd ; and yet 'tis a thing unheard till now, that they were deny'd to be theirs whose Names they bear, because the Day of the Month was not mention'd, nor the Names

Names of any Witnesses added, when the Hand was confest to be the same with their other Writings. Many instances of this kind appear in the Books of Mr. HAMDEN lately sold, and whereof I have som to shew, as in the Book intitl'd, *Apollonii Grallæ*, he writes, that LANSBERGIUS was the Author of it, of whom he there gives a Character.

IT is no just Exception to this Memorandum, that my Lord ANGLESEY did not communicat the Contents of it to any of his Friends or Relations: for tho' the Two Royal Brothers imparted the Secret to him, it does by no means follow, that they intended he should publish it to the World. And supposing they did not oblige him to silence, yet 'tis probable that his Lordship was not very fond of being disturb'd by the Clamors of som Churchmen, who carry'd things so high at that time, that

I do not believe they would pardon such a Discovery to either of the Brothers themselves. There was never any poor Prince more notoriously abus'd by many of those he took for his best Friends than CHARLES the First. They put him on all those unhappy Measures which prov'd his Ruin in the end. And as they made use of his Temper to serve their own Purposes when he was alive, so they did of his Name for the same Reason after his Death. They were not concern'd so much for his Honor, as their own Interest ; and having contriv'd this Forgery to carry their Cause, they thought themselves afterwards oblig'd to support it. Mr. WAGSTAF affirms that there is no presumption that the Royal Brothers communicated this Affair to any other Person besides my Lord ANGELSEY, which is a negative Argument, and proves nothing. 'Tis possible enough that
my

my Lord ANGLESEY himself told of this to others, tho' they may be since dead, or are not willing to tell it again. If the Royal Brothers had spoke of it to no body else, it follows not that a Secret was never committed to one, because it was not to more ; as if it were necessary for a Man to call Witnesses that he imparted a Secret to his Friend. But we shall presently allege more than a Presumption, that both King CHARLES the Second and the late King JAMES declar'd their Opinion to other People besides my Lord ANGLESEY, that *Icon Basilike* was not their Father's Book.

By such nice Cavils against the *Memorandum* we can easily judg of the Exceptions we may expect to Dr. WALKER's Account. That GAUDEN hop'd o make a Fortune by this Book, as well as to promote the Cause of the Church, ought by no means

to be counted strange ; for who is it, pray, that serves the King any more than God, for nought ? Have not most of the Bishops and other Clergymen of those times, that either liv'd depriv'd here in *England*, or that accompany'd CHARLES the Second in his Exile, pleaded their Loyalty, and magnify'd their Services at the Restoration, as many others would questionless do, if King JAMES should ever return again ? Were not great Persons employ'd to solicit and make an Interest for them ? And, in a Word, are not Divines observ'd to make the same Steps, and take the same Measures that all other sorts of Men do to get Preferment. I should rather doubt that Dr. GAUDEN was not the Author of this Forgery, if he had not expected a Reward for it from CHARLES the Second ; for 'tis certain, that the Credit of *Icon Basilike* contributed more to his Establishment.

blishment than any other single Motive whatsoever. But 'tis well known that this Prince was not the kindest in the World to his Father's Friends, who would too often forget his own ; and that it was not the Interest of som People to have this business unravell'd, tho' their impolitic Conduct has bin since the occasion of divulging what every body suspected before.

T H E Immorality of this Forgery is urg'd as an Argument against it ; and, if it could by any means hold Water, is indeed an Argument worth a Million. Then it would clearly follow that because it was a most immoral thing to ly for God, and to forge Books, Epistles, or the like, under the Names of CHRIST and his Apostles, there were therefore never any such Pieces ; and that because it was an ill thing to feign Miracles, or to destroy Mens

Lives for the Advancement of Religion, there never was therefore any Priestcraft, nor any of these infamous Practices known in the World. But if the contrary be as clear as the Day, I believe Men might be found that would make as bold with the Name of King CHARLES, as others have don with that of King JESUS. Mr. WAGSTAF knows, tho' Mr. BLACKHALL does not, that TERTULLIAN * tells us of a certain Presbyter of *Asia*, who when he was accus'd of having forg'd a Book containing the Travels of PAUL and THECLA, confest the Fact, and alledg'd that he did it for the love of PAUL, and I say, that Dr. GAUDEN wrote *Icon Basilike* for the Church's sake, the King's, and his own.

* De Baptismo, c. 17. etiam Hieronym. in Catalogo Scriptor. Eccles.

AS for the plausible Accounts given in that Book of the King's Secret Intentions, his particular *Trobles*, his Remorses of Consciences, and the like, it is very ridiculous to alledge 'em as an Argument of the Genuinness of it, when the Book was written for that very end. For the Design of the Author was to give such a Color to all the King's Actions, and to tell such fine things of his gracious Purposes, as would beget a better Opinion of him in the Readers Mind, and move his Indignation against the Parliament, or Compassion of his Misfortunes. But that Dr. GAUDEN has frequently made the King's Thoughts to contradict his Actions, is evident to any Man that has both read *Icon Basilike*, and the History of those times: And this Subject is thro'ly handled by JOHN MILTON in his *Iconoclastes*, to which I refer those who want Satisfaction.

BUT

BUT there is an Objection still behind, and as strong, be sure, as any of the rest, which is that Dr. WALKER did not see Dr. GAUDEN write this Book, nor tells us that it was in his own Hand. But I believe Mr. WAGSTAF is the only Man living that questions whether Dr. WALKER meant Dr. GAUDEN's own Writing, when he says, that before the whole was finisht Dr. GAUDEN was pleas'd to acquaint him with his Design, and shew him the Heads of diverse Chapters, with som of the Discourses written of them, and that Mr. GIFFORD transcrib'd a Copy of it. This is all that can be said of any Author in the World: and if Dr. WALKER had said more expressly, or rather superfluously, that it was likewise D. GAUDEN's Handwriting, we should then have bin told, that it was a Transcript from the King's Copy in the Hands of Mr. SYMMONDS, of which more hereafter.

W E

WE proceed now to those Pieces commonly call'd Mr. NORTH's *Papers*, he being the Discoverer. Chancellor HYDE in his Letter to Dr. GAUDEN, tells him, as was said before, ' That the Particular he mention'd had indeed bin ' imparted to him as a Secret, ' which he was sorry he ever knew ; ' and that when it ceast to be a Secret, it would please none but Mr. MILTON. Was there no other Secret in the World but this, says Mr. WAGSTAF, that the divulging of it would gratify Mr. MILTON ? Yes doubtless ; but I believe not one that would please none but Mr. MILTON, as the Chancellor expresses it : For he having particularly question'd the Genuinness of this Book, and offer'd a fair Proof of the Spuriousness thereof from intrinsic Evidence only, without any further Light ; would be extreamly pleas'd to find his Reasonings and Judgment confirm'd by undeniable

Mat-

-Matters of Fact. Nor does any indifferent Person in the World understand this Passage otherwise that weighs Dr. GAUDEN'S Pretences with Mr. MILTON'S Concern, and considers that Mrs. GAUDEN put this and the other Papers relating to *Icon Basilike* in one Bundle, together with her own Narrative, for the Information of her Son. Besides that all those who ever saw other Writings of the Chancellor own this to be his Hand, and particularly his eldest Son, the present Earl of CLARENDON, as Mr. WAGSTAF himself acknowledges.

BUT he says, ' That my Lord
' CLARENDON, (from whom he had
' it in a Letter) by leave of the
' King and Queen preparing to attend his Father in *France* in the beginning of the Summer, 1674. his
' Lordship went first to *Farnham* to
' the late Bishop of *Winton* the 14th
' of *May*, and among several
' things he had in Charge from the
' Bi-

‘ Bishop to his Father, he bad him
‘ tell him, that the King had very
‘ ill People about him, who turn’d
‘ all things into Ridicule ; that they
‘ endeavor’d to bring him to
‘ have a mean Opinion of the King
‘ his Father, and to persuade him
‘ that he was not the Author of
‘ the Book which goes under his
‘ Name. And (when after his
‘ Lordship’s Arrival in *France*, the
‘ 30th. of the same Month, he had
‘ deliver’d his Father these Particu-
‘ lars among others) to that con-
‘ cerning the Book, his Father re-
‘ ply’d, *Good God ! I thought the*
‘ *Marquiss of Hartford had satis-*
‘ *fy’d the King in that Matter.*
From hence Mr. WAGSTAF would
infer, that my Lord Chancellor did
not believe any other besides
CHARLES the First to be the Author
of *Icon Basilike*, and that he won-
dered any should go about to induce
CHARLES the Second to question it.
But for my part I think it very plain
on

on the contrary, that he believ'd King CHARLES the First not to be the Author of that Book, and wondered that King CHARLES the Second should not understand so much from the Marquiss of *Hartford*, who, as Dr. WALKER, and Mrs. GAUDEN inform us, was the Person that carry'd the Manuscript to the King in the *Isle of Wight*, and so next to Dr. GAUDEN himself, was best able to convince his Son of the Truth. Moreover, how could the Bishop of *Winton* imagin that the ill People about CHARLES the Second could bring him to doubt of his Father's being the Author of *Icon Basilike*, if he really knew it to be written by him? when upon this Supposition he was rather capable of satisfying all those who had any Scruples in this Affair.

A S for Dr. GAUDEN's great Services, and his saying in a Letter to the Chancellor, ' That what was ' don like a King, should have a King-

‘ Kinglike Retribution, Mr. WAGSTAF says that those are Mystical Expressions, and that by them he might probably mean a Book he wrote against the *Covenant*, and a *Protestation* he publisht against the King’s Death, neither of which could be term’d such extraordinary Services, when many others had don the same, and more : much less could it be said that either of these Books was *don like a King*, or *deserv’d a Kinglike Retribution*; whereas Mr. WAGSTAF, and those who are of his Opinion, maintain that the the Stile and Matter of *Icon Basilike* are so like a King’s, that no Subject could possibly write it : but a Multitude of others agree with me, that the Stile is infinitely liker that of a Doctor than a King.

LASTLY, It is objected that Dr. WALKER’s and Mrs. GAUDEN’s Testimonies contradict one another. But how ? Dr. WALKER says, that Dr. GAUDEN told him he did not know
if

if CHARLES the First had seen the Book : but Mrs. GAUDEN affirms, that the Marquis of *Hartford* told her Husband the King had seen and approv'd it, both which Assertions are consistent enough together. For Dr. GAUDEN might be ignorant that the King had seen it, when Dr. WALKER askt him that Question, who perhaps never mention'd it to him again in their Discourses about this Matter, or might easily forget it, as he says he did several other Particulars, little foreseeing he should ever be oblig'd to make this Discovery : and besides we must upon all Accounts allow his Wife to know more Circumstances of this Business, as of most others, than his Friend. The next suppos'd Contradiction is, that Dr. WALKER says Dr. GAUDEN once told him, after the Restoration, that he did not positively and certainly know if King CHARLES the Second knew he wrote *Icon Basilike*, tho' he believ'd he


he might, because the Duke of York did, who own'd it to have bin a seasonable and acceptable Service. But Mrs. GAUDEN affirms, that her Husband acquainted the King with it himself, which is very true. But pray let us examine at what time. After his Discourse with Dr. WALKER most certainly: For does she not in clear and direct Terms say, that it was in his last Sickness, which prov'd Mortal to him; and that the Reason of it was, because he saw som Persons who were privy to it desire nothing more than to have it conceal'd, which he was not willing it should be in consideration of his numerous Family, to whom it might sometime or other do seasonable Service?

N O W that no Mistakes may be occasion'd hereafter by imperfect Fragments of Mrs. GAU-

I

DEN'S

DEN's Narrative, and that this Affair may be set in the clearest Light, I shall, before I proceed to the Examination of the positive Testimonies produc'd for the King, insert the Narrative here at large, as it was exactly copy'd from the Original, to which the curious are refer'd.



Mrs.

Mrs. *G A U D E N*'s

NARRATIVE.

‘ **M**Y Husband understanding
 ‘ the great Value and
 ‘ Esteem the People had
 ‘ of CROMWELL and of others
 ‘ in the Army, occasion’d by the
 ‘ high Opinion which they had of
 ‘ their Parts, and Piety ; he being
 ‘ also well assur’d, that one of the
 ‘ main Designs of those wicked Poli-
 ‘ ticians, was to Eclipse his Ma-
 ‘ jesty that then was, as much as
 ‘ might be, and to give a false
 ‘ Misrepresentation of him to the
 ‘ World ; he, that he might do his
 ‘ Majesty right, did pen that Book
 ‘ which goes by the Name of the
 ‘ King’s Book. The Title which
 ‘ he gave it then was *Suspiria*
 ‘ *Regalia* ; and the Design was
 ‘ to have it put forth as by som

Person who had found the Papers in his Majesty's Chambers at *Holmeby*, being by chance left or scatter'd there. And to this purpose he had prefix'd an Epistle, which might be suppos'd to be written by that Person, who having found them by that Accident, thought it not fit to conceal them. His Design also in the Book, was to give such a Character of her Majesty to the World, as her great Worth, extream Merits, and admirable Endowments, deserv'd when my Husband had writ it, he shew'd it to my Lord CAPEL, who did very highly approve of it; and though he thought it would do very well to have it printed, yet he said it was not fit to do so without his Majesty's Approbation; and to come to speak to his Majesty in private was then impossible, in regard of the strict Guard which they kept

' kept about him. Immediately
 ' after this there was a Treaty with
 ' his Majesty at the *Isle of Wight*,
 ' whereupon my Husband went to
 ' my Lord Marquiss of *Hartford*
 ' that then was, and to him
 ' deliver'd the Manuscript, and
 ' he deliver'd it to the King at the
 ' *Isle of Wight*, and likewise told
 ' him who the Author was. When
 ' my Lord Marquiss return'd, my
 ' Husband went to him, to whom
 ' my Lord said, That his Majesty
 ' having had some of those Essays
 ' read to him by Bishop DUBBA, did
 ' exceedingly approve of them,
 ' and asked whether they could not
 ' be put out in some other Name.
 ' The Bishop reply'd, that the De-
 ' sign was, that the World should
 ' take them to be his Majesty's.
 ' Whereupon his Majesty desir'd
 ' time to consider of it; and this
 ' (says my Lord) is all the Account
 ' I can give of it: What is become
 ' of the Manuscript I know not,
 ' and

‘ and what will become of his Ma-
‘ jesty God knows. Upon this my
‘ Husband told my Lord Mar-
‘ quiss, That, in his Opinion, there
‘ was no way so probable to
‘ save his Majesty’s Life, as by en-
‘ deavouring to move the Hearts
‘ and Affections of the People as
‘ much as might be towards him ;
‘ and that he also thought that
‘ that Book would be very effectu-
‘ al for that purpose. Then my
‘ Lord bad my Husband to do
‘ what he would, in regard the
‘ Case was desperate. Then im-
‘ mediately my Husband resolv’d
‘ to print it with all speed that
‘ might be, he having a Copy of
‘ that which he sent to the King,
‘ and that he printed was just the
‘ same, only he then added, the
‘ *Essay* upon their denying his Ma-
‘ jesty the Attendance of his Chap-
‘ lains, and the *Meditation of Death*,
‘ after the Votes of the Non-ad-
‘ dresses, and his Majesty’s close
Im-

‘ Imprisonment at *Carisbrook Ca-*
 ‘ *stle*. Now the Instrument which
 ‘ my Husband employ’d to get it
 ‘ printed, was one Mr. SIMMONDS,
 ‘ a Divine, and a great Sufferer
 ‘ for his Majesty ; and he got one
 ‘ Mr. ROYSTON to print it ; which
 ‘ ROYSTON never knew any thing
 ‘ but that it was of his Majesty’s
 ‘ own penning : my Husband did
 ‘ then alter the Title of it, and
 ‘ call’d it *Icon Basilike*. Now
 ‘ when it was about half printed,
 ‘ they, who were in power, found
 ‘ the Press where it was printing,
 ‘ and likewise a Letter of my Hus-
 ‘ bands, which he sent up to the
 ‘ Press ; whereupon they destroy’d
 ‘ all that they then found printed,
 ‘ but could not find out from
 ‘ whence the Letter came, in re-
 ‘ gard it had no Name to it. Not-
 ‘ withstanding all this, my Hus-
 ‘ band attempted the printing
 ‘ of it again, but could by no
 ‘ means get it finish’d till som few

‘ Days after his Majesty was de-
‘ stroyed. When it was com out,
‘ they who were then in Power
‘ were not only extremely displeas’d
‘ at it, but also infinitely solicitous
‘ to find out the Author of it,
‘ thinking it very improbable that
‘ his Majesty should write it, in re-
‘ gard of the great Disturbances
‘ and Troubles which for many
‘ Years he had suffer’d : or at least
‘ impossible that he should have writ
‘ it all ; for after the Attendance of
‘ his Chaplains was deny’d him, and
‘ he a close Prisoner, they well un-
‘ derstood that he could not write
‘ any thing without their Discove-
‘ ry. They also took that very Ma-
‘ nuscript which my Husband had
‘ sent his Majesty, and saw that it
‘ was none of his Majesty’s Hand-
‘ writing. Upon this they ap-
‘ pointed a Committee to examin
‘ the Business ; of which my Hus-
‘ band having notice, he went pri-
‘ vately in the Night away from his

own

own House to Sir JOHN WENT-
 WORTH's, who liv'd near *Yarmouth*,
 and him he acquainted with the
 Business, and the great Danger
 he was then in : when Sir JOHN
 did not only promise to conceal
 him, but also to convey him out
 of *England*, it being in his Pow-
 er to give Passes to go beyond
 Sea. About this time Mr. SYM-
 MONDS was taken in a Disguise ;
 but God in his Providence so or-
 der'd it, that he sickned immedi-
 atly, and dy'd before he came
 to his Examination : nor could
 the Committee find out any
 thing by any means whatever ;
 which alter'd my Husband's Re-
 solutions of going out of *England*.
 Now, besides these Circumstan-
 ces, to assert the Truth of what
 I say, I can produce som Let-
 ters, which, I am sure, will put
 it out of all Dispute. My Husband
 continu'd at *Bocking* till the return
 of his Majesty King CHARLES the
 Se-

‘ Second ; and upon his Resto-
‘ ration, knowing his Princely
‘ Disposition, did not unjustly ex-
‘ pect a suitable Reward for his
‘ Endeavors to serve his Majesty’s
‘ Father and himself in that Book.
‘ And meeting with Dr. MORLEY,
‘ he fell into Discourse how sensible
‘ he was of the great Service which
‘ he had don his present Majesty
‘ and the Royal Family, in compo-
‘ sing and setting forth that excellent
‘ Piece, call’d *the King’s Book*; and
‘ also assur’d him, that it had bin
‘ very effectual not only at home,
‘ but abroad, to move the Hearts
‘ and Affections of People towards
‘ his Majesty, instancing in several
‘ Persons who were most exceedingly
‘ affected with it ; and so advanta-
‘ geous he said it had bin to his
‘ Majesty, that according to his
‘ great Merit, he might have what
‘ Preferment he desir’d. Dr. MOR-
‘ LEY also told him, That he had
‘ acquainted Sir EDWARD HYDE with
‘ the

' the Business, and that he did ve-
 ' ry much commend and admire
 ' it : but we have not' (said he) ac-
 ' quainted his Majesty with it, but
 ' did assure him, that his Majesty
 ' did set a high Value upon the
 ' Book, and had commanded Dr.
 ' EARL to translate into *Latin* ;
 ' som having taken the Pains to
 ' put it into other Languages be-
 ' fore. My Husband being encou-
 ' raged by this Discourse of Dr.
 ' MORLEY's, and shortly after meet-
 ' ing with Dr. SHELDON (who he
 ' knew was not ignorant that he was
 ' the only Author of the foremen-
 ' tion'd Book) he told Dr. SHEL-
 ' DON, that since he had bin in-
 ' form'd that his Majesty, out of
 ' his Princely Disposition, would
 ' (without doubt) when once ac-
 ' quainted with it, reward that Ser-
 ' vice which he had endeavor'd to
 ' do his Father and himself; he
 ' thought it most convenient for
 ' himself, and also that he might
 ' be

‘ be serviceable to his Majesty in the
‘ Diocefs of *London* (a Place where
‘ he was well known) if it would
‘ please his Majesty to make him
‘ Bishop of that See. Dr. SHELDON
‘ was pleas’d, with a great deal of
‘ Gravity to tell him that was a great
‘ Leap at first. Whereupon my Hus-
‘ band desisted, and was resolv’d to
‘ leave his Preferment to God’s dis-
‘ pose. Soon after this, the King be-
‘ ing still ignorant of what he had
‘ done, he was by the Mediation of
‘ a Person perfectly ignorant of his
‘ Merit as to this Matter, made Bishop
‘ of *Exeter* ; all the considerable Bi-
‘ shopricks being otherwise dispos’d
‘ of. Not long after this it pleas’d
‘ God to visit my Husband with
‘ an Infirmary, which he had
‘ great cause to fear would (as it
‘ did) prove mortal to him. This
‘ made him resolve to acquaint the
‘ King with the whole Matter,
‘ and the rather, because he saw
‘ som Persons who were privy to
‘ it,

‘ it, desir’d nothing more than to
‘ have it conceal’d, and bury’d in
‘ Oblivion : but my Husband was
‘ not willing it should be so, in
‘ regard he had at that time four
‘ Sons living ; and they (he
‘ thought) if he should die, might
‘ be capable of his Majesty’s Fa-
‘ vour. Besides, the Duke of So-
‘ merfet was dead, and the Bishop
‘ of *Winchester* (the Person who
‘ was best able to attest it) was
‘ very ill. These Considerations
‘ made him go to his Majesty ;
‘ and having the Opportunity of
‘ discoursing privatly with him,
‘ he told him the whole Matter as
‘ I have related it, and for the
‘ Truth of it, appeal’d to Dr. DUP-
‘ PA, then Bishop of *Winchester*,
‘ and formerly his Majesty’s Tu-
‘ tor. The King then was pleas’d
‘ to entertain som Discourse with
‘ my Husband about it, and said
‘ that he did often wonder how
‘ his Father should have gotten
‘ Time

‘ Time and Privacy enough in his
‘ Troubles to compose so excel-
‘ lent a Piece, and written with so
‘ much Learning.

BY the Extract that was publish’d of this Narrative it would seem as if it were somewhat longer; but this is all that came to my Hands, two Witnesses attesting, that as far as it goes, it is exactly conformable to the Original. What Accident hinder’d the rest (if there be any) from being copy’d, I cannot certainly tell; tho’, when ever I com by a true Information, I shall (if Occasion be) publish my Knowledg of that Particular, in an Appendix to this Book. The Substance of what remains in the Abstract, is, That when King CHARLES the Second (as we saw but now) was made acquainted with this Mystery, he gave a Promise to Dr. GAUDEN of the Bishoprick of *Winchester*;

‘ *chester* ; and that the Duke of
 ‘ *York* had also assur’d him of his
 ‘ Favor : That upon Dr. DUPPA’S
 ‘ Death, tho’ Dr. GAUDEN put the
 ‘ King in mind of his Promise, he
 ‘ was only made Bishop of *Wor-*
 ‘ *cester*, Dr. MORLEY having ob-
 ‘ tain’d the See of *Winchester* :
 ‘ That her Husband dying soon
 ‘ after, Mrs. GAUDEN petition’d the
 ‘ King, shewing that she was left
 ‘ a Widow, with four Sons and a
 ‘ Daughter ; that it cost her Hus-
 ‘ band 200 *l.* to remove from *Exe-*
 ‘ *ter* to *Worcester* ; and pray’d his
 ‘ Majesty to bestow the half-years
 ‘ Rents upon her, which he deny’d,
 ‘ and gave then to another.

WE learn further from Dr.
 WALKER, that immediatly upon
 Dr. GAUDEN’S Nomination to the
 Bishoprick of *Worcester*, he told him,
 that waiting upon the King the
 next Morning after the Bishop of
Winchester’s Death, he found a
 remarkable Alteration in him, his
 Ma-

Majesty being pensive and out of Humor ; in which Temper he still found him for two Mornings after : But having learnt the third Day that my Lord Chancellor had by all his Interest press'd the King to bestow *Winchester* on Dr. MORLEY, he presum'd to tell his Majesty how uneasy he perceiv'd him to be between the Honor of his Word that he shou'd succeed his Friend Dr. DUPPA, and the Importunity of those who solicited for Dr. MORLEY ; and that therefore he most willingly releas'd his Majesty of his Promise. Here, continues Dr. GAUDEN, the King stopt me, and vouchsaf'd to embrace me in his Arms, with these Expressions ; *My Lord, I thank you ; and it may not be long ere I have Opportunity to shew you how kindly I take it. And in the mean time you shall have Worcester ; and, to make it to you as good as I can, all the Dignities*
of

of that Church (I know not how it comes to pass) being in my Disposal, I give you the disposing of them all during your time, that you may prefer your Friends, and have them near about you.

I T was an ordinary thing with King CHARLES the Second thus to forget his Promises, which made him frequently uneasie, and occasion'd Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE (whom he had serv'd after this manner) to say of him in his incomparable Memoirs, ' That this Temper ' made him apt to fall into the Persuasions of whoever had his ' Kindness and Confidence for the ' time, how different soever from ' the Opinions he was of before: ' and that he was very easie to ' change Hands, when those he ' employ'd seem'd to have engag'd ' him in any Difficulties; so as nothing lookt steddily in the Conduct ' of his Affairs, nor aim'd at any ' certain end.

K

THUS

THUS we have don with the Narrative of Mrs. GAUDEN, who was often heard to relate the substance of it to her Friends and Relations, and who, when Dr. NICHOLSON, then Bishop of *Glocester*, did, on her receiving of the Sacrament, put the Question to her, affirm'd, that her Husband wrote that Book, which several now living in that City do very well remember.

WE come at length to the last Period of our Labor, and that is to shew the Invalidity of the Facts which are alledg'd to prove CHARLES the First was the true Author of *Icon Basilike*. And the first Evidence we shall hear is his own Son and Successor, CHARLES II. who granted his Letters Patents to Mr. ROYSTON for printing all his Father's Works, and particularly this Piece, which,

which, says Mr. WAGSTAF, contradicts what he's believ'd to have said to my Lord ANGLESEY. But with his good leave the Conclusion does not follow : for these Letters were issu'd out in the Year 60, before Dr. GAUDEN gave the King true Information ; and it was in 75, that he told his Opinion to my Lord ANGLESEY long after he was convinc'd that his Father had not written the Book. But if King CHARLES the Second had dissembled his Knowledge of this Affair, it had not bin at all a thing inconsistent with this Character, but a Piece of his Grandfather's boasted Kingcraft, and which he practic'd on many less pardonable Occasions. Have not Princes in all Ages, as well as other Men, bin allow'd to keep things secret which it was not their Interest should be known, and which are commonly call'd by the Name of State Mysteries ? How many Juggles are us'd by the Eastern Prin-

ces to beget an extraordinary Opinion of their Persons in the Minds of their Subjects, who, by the force of such fantastical Stories, carry their Respect even to Adoration? But what need I go out of *England* for Examples? When our own Kings have for so many Ages pretended to cure the King's Evil, by meerly touching the affected Part; and this Power of Healing is said to be communicated to them by the Blessing of King EDWARD *the Confessor*, one of the weakest and most Priest ridden Princes that ever wore a Crown. All the Monkish Historians, and particularly the Abbot of *Rievall*, who wrote his Life, have given us a large Catalogue of his Miracles: but I wonder why our Princes have not also pretended to restore Sight to the Blind; for this is also affirm'd of King EDWARD's Wonder working Touch. 'Tis strange, that a Protestant Bishop, should

should compose a Form of Divine Service to be read on this Occasion, when he might as warrantably believe all the other Legends of those dark and ignorant times. If I did persuade my self that King CHARLES the Second (who is said to have cur'd very many) was a Saint, it should be the greatest Miracle I could believe. But King WILLIAM, who came to deliver us from Superstition as well as from Slavery, has now abolisht this Remnant of Popery : For it is not, as his Enemies suggest, because he thinks his Title, which is the best in the World, defective, that he abstains from Touching ; but because he laughs at the Folly, and scorns to take the Advantage of the Fraud. So much for the Letters Patents of CHARLES II. and we shall consider those of the late King JAMES in their due order.

THE next Witness shall be Major HUNTINGTON, who (as Sir

* P. 380. WILLIAM DUGDALE relates in his *short View of the Troubles of England*) did, thro' the Favor of General FAIRFAX, restore to King CHARLES the First, after he was brought to *Hampton-Court*, the Manuscript of *Icon Basilike* written with the said King's own Hand, and found in his Cabinet at *Naseby* Fight. By the way, they should have said, for the Grace of the Story, *part of the Manuscript* ; for a good deal of the Book was written afterwards, be the Author who you please. And they should have told us likewise how General FAIRFAX durst send one part of his Papers to the King, when he sent the rest to the Parliament ; or, since they would make us believe he was so kind to the King, why he did not restore him all the Papers, when 'tis very evident, that those which the Parliament order'd to be publish'd were infinitely of greater consequence, and made him a world

world of Enemies, which oblig'd the Author of *Icon Basilike* to write a Chapter on this very Subject; whereas the Papers in question would probably mollify some of his Opposers. But now when all is don, tho' General FAIRFAX was afterwards against putting the King to death, yet he was not at that time dispos'd to grant him any Favors, and acted with as hearty Zeal against him as any in the Nation, which appears by all the Histories of those times, as well as by his own and the Memoirs of the Lord HOLLIS. As for Major HUNTINGTON Dr. WALKER assures us, 'That he told him, when he 'heard such a Book was publish'd 'and confidently reported to be the 'Kings, all he said was that he surely believ'd those were the Papers 'he saw him so usually take out of 'his Cabinet, and that he never 'read one Line or Word of them. This and Sir WILLIAM DUGDALE's

Testimony are diverse from that of
 Mr. RICHARD DUKE, of *Ottertoun* in
Devon, who writes the following
 Letter to Dr. GOODAL, famous for
 his Zeal on the behalf of *Icon Ba-*
filike. ‘ Sir, I confess that I heard
 ‘ Major HUNTINGTON to say more
 ‘ than once, that whilst he guard-
 ‘ ed CHARLES the First at *Holmby-*
 ‘ *House* (as I remember) he saw se-
 ‘ veral Chapters or Leaves of that
 ‘ great King’s Meditations lying on
 ‘ the Table several Mornings, with
 ‘ a Pen and Ink with which the
 ‘ King scratch’d out or blotted som
 ‘ Lines or Words of som of them.
 ‘ Upon which I must also confess
 ‘ that I concluded they were origi-
 ‘ nally from the King ; but others
 ‘ have drawn a contrary Argu-
 ‘ ment from the King’s correcting
 ‘ the Papers. Yet I put this under
 ‘ my Hand, that the Major told
 ‘ me, that he did suppose them
 ‘ originally from that learned
 ‘ Prince, which is the *Totum* that
 ‘ can

can be intimated from, Sir, your
 humble Servant RICHARD DUKE.
 Then one Mr. CAVE BECK writes
 to Dr. HOLLINGWORTH ' That Ma-
 jor HUNTINGTON at *Ipswich* af-
 sur'd him that so much of the
 said Book as contain'd his Maje-
 sty's Mediations before *Naseby*-
 Fight was taken in the King's
 Cabinet; and that Sir THOMAS
 FAIRFAX deliver'd the said Papers
 to him, and order'd him to
 carry them to the King; and
 also told him, that when he de-
 liver'd them to the King, his
 Majesty appear'd very joyful, and
 said he esteem'd 'em more than
 all the Jewels he had lost in the
 Cabinet. This Major HUNTING-
 TON was a strange Man to vary so
 often in his Story, and to tell so
 much more or less to every body
 that enquir'd of him; but in-
 deed 'tis no great Wonder that these
 Gentlemen should so widely differ
 from one another, both as to
 Time

Time and Place, as well as to Matters of Fact, when Sir WILLIAM DUGDALE has printed under Major HUNTINGTON's Name quite another Story from the written Memorial out of which he had it. In his *short View* he positively says, as we read before, that the Manuscript was written with the King's own Hand: But in his Warrant for this, it is only said, as Mr. WAGSTAF himself acknowledges, that all the Chapters in it were written by the Hand of Sir EDWARD WALKER, but much corrected with Interlineations of the King's Hand, and that the Prayers were all so.

NOW, to shew further how cautiously People should rely on Sir WILLIAM DUGDALE, and Historians like him, we shall produce another remarkable Instance. In the Book before-quoted, he expressly writes, That Mr. HERBERT did often see the *Icon Basilike* while he

he waited on the King in the *Isle of Wight*; whereas all that Sir THOMAS (for he was Knighted after the Restoration) has said in the Manuscript which Sir WILLIAM perus'd, and wherof Mr. WAGSTAF has printed an Abstract, is, that he 'had there the Charge of the King's 'Books; and that those he most read, 'after the Sacred Scriptures, were 'Bishop ANDREWS's Sermons, HOOKER's Ecclesiastical Policy, VILLALPANDUS ON EZEKIEL, SANDY's Paraphrase 'on the *Psalms*, HERBERT's Poems, 'the Translation of GODFREY of 'Bulloign by Mr. FAIRFAX, of ORLANDO FURIOSO by Sir JOHN HARRINGTON, and SPENCER's Fairy 'Queen (to which he might have 'added PEMBROKE's *Arcadia*.) And 'at this time it was, as is presum'd, '(continues Sir THOMAS) that he ' compos'd his Book, call'd *Suspiria Regalia*, publish'd soon after his 'Death, and entitul'd, *The King's 'Portraiture in his Solitudes and Sufferings*

‘*ferings*: which Manuscript Mr.
‘HERBERT found among those
‘Books his Majesty was pleas’d to
‘give him, those excepted which he
‘bequeath’d to his Children here-
‘after mention’d. In regard Mr.
‘HERBERT, tho’ he did not see
‘the King write that Book, his
‘Majesty being always privat when
‘he writ; and those his Servants
‘never coming into the Bed Cham-
‘ber when the King was privat,
‘til he call’d; yet comparing
‘it with his Hand-writing in other
‘things, he found it so very like as
‘induces his Belief that it was his
‘own, having seen much of the
‘King’s Writings before. Here
Sir THOMAS only presumes the King
might write the Book in the *Isle of*
Wight, and directly says he never
saw the King write it, nor the
Book it self till after his Death;
but Sir WILLIAM affirms from these
very Papers (for they are said to be
written at his Request by Sir THO-

MAS) that he often saw it in the
Isle of Wight when he waited on the
King in his Bed-Chamber. 'Tis
to be observ'd, that the Title of
Suspiria Regalia is as agreeable to
Mrs. GAUDEN's Narrative, as the rest
of the Particulars are different from
Sir WILLIAM's Relation.

BEFORE we examin the
Force of Sir THOMAS's Testimony,
we must first consider what is said
by Mr. LEVET, who attended the
King at the same Time and Place.
In short, he says, ' That of his
' own certain Knowledg he can
' depose the Book was truly the
' Kings, having observ'd his Ma-
' jesty oftentimes writing his Royal
' Resentments of the bold and in-
' solent Behavior of his Soldiers
' when they had him in their Cu-
' stody : That being nominated by
' his Majesty to be one of his
' Servants during the Treaty in the
' *Isle of Wight*, he had the Happi-
' ness to read the same oftentimes
in

‘ in Manuscript under his Majesty’s own Hand, being pleas’d
‘ to leave it in the Window
‘ of his Bed-Chamber : And
‘ that when the King was remov’d
‘ to *Hurst-Castle*, he had the Charge
‘ of this Book, and a Cabinet of
‘ other Papers, which at the said
‘ Castle he deliver’d again to his
‘ Majesty ; where, by the way ,
he does not inform us if the Book
was distinctly given him from the
Cabinet, or that he only concluded
it was in it. Here are several
very observable Circumstances :
As, First, that altho’ Mr. HERBERT
who was of the King’s Bed-Chamber,
never saw him write a Syllable
of this Book, his (Majesty,
he says, being always in privat,
when he wrote, and his Servants
never coming into his Bed-Chamber
till he call’d;) yet Mr. LEVET,
a Page of the Back Stairs, often
saw him write, knew what he wrote,
and could read the Book when he
pleas’d.

pleas'd. Then that the King, who is said to value this Book more than all his Jewels, should so carelessly leave it in his Bed-chamber when he was abroad, and where Mr. HERBERT and others, nay the very Soldiers might see it as well as Mr. LEVET, is not very likely. And lastly, that the King should have so much leisure to mind this Book during a Treaty with his Subjects, or would lose any time in writing of it, when the Business in agitation concern'd no less than his re-establishment or Abdication, is not credible; besides, that there is nothing particularly written concerning the Insolence of the Soldiers in all *Icon Basilike*. And I have talk'd with Persons of Quality and good Reputation now alive, who had much more of his Majesty's Company and Confidence in the *Isle of Wight* than Mr. LEVET either shar'd, or could reasonably expect; but yet they neither dreamt

dreamt of this Business then, nor believ'd a jot of it afterwards, as well knowing how the King spent his time in that place. But now supposing Mr. LEVET's Relation to be all true, yet it is very from amounting to a Proof, that King CHARLES the First was the real Author of *Icon Basilike*, which is the Point in question; and not whether he interlin'd or transcrib'd it, which he ought to have don, if he had a mind it should pass for his own: besides that Dr. GAUDEN sent it to him for that very purpose, to be corrected, allow'd, or laid aside, as his Majesty should think fit. But tho' the King in all reason might, and I really believe did, correct or interline a part, and perhaps transcribe the whole Book; yet I can by no means be persuaded that he could find Leisure enough to write so many Copies of it in his Solitudes and Sufferings, in the
midst

midst of Treaties, in the Hurry of Removals, while he meditated his Escape, and was strictly observ'd by his Guards. But these Gentlemen tell us of as many Copies, as the Papists shew Heads of St. JOHN BAPTIST, or Quarts of the Virgin MARY'S Milk. Mr. HERBERT had one left him by the King for a Legacy; CHARLES the Second (as Dr. CANARIES writes to Mr. WAGSTAF) shew'd another to Mr. WOOD, a Commissioner from the *Scotish Kirk* at *Breda*; and who knows which of these, or whether it was either of them, that Mr. LEVET deliver'd to the King at *Hurst-Castle*? But why, in the Name of God, is none of these ever since produc'd? How came this Prince's Autographs to be thus neglected, when his Day is so strictly observ'd? This is a Piece of Respect that's usually paid to less considerable Persons; and I believe either of the Universities, would readily

dily give Five Hundred Pounds to have such a Copy plac'd in their Library, tho' if they had the Manuscript, it would make nothing at all for their Purpose.

NOW let us consider the the Force of all those Testimonies join'd together, which is, that one saw the King write he knew not what, but believ'd it might be this Book; another observ'd him writing his Resentments against the rude Behavior of the Soldiers, and so was ready to depose of his certain Knowledge, that *Icon Basiliæ* was his own; a third presumes the King might write it, because he read a great many Books; and they unanimously conclude, that he was the genuin Author, because the Book was written with his own Hand; all which Testimonies, considering the Premises, prove no more nor less than that the King could write and read,

read, which was never deny'd by any that I know.

I T is further urg'd by the Admirers of this famous Book, that Mr. ROYSTON had it to print as from the King, in which all sides are agreed, and signifies nothing to the Merits of the Cause; for, be sure, the Bookseller was not made privy to the Secret. And as for the Anonymous Authors of two Books which are alledg'd by Mr. WAGSTAF, we shall hear and examin them when they'll please to tell us their Names, tho' all they have to say is answer'd already. When Dr. HOLLINGWORTH tells us who are his sufficient Witnesses, we shall likewise consider their Evidence; for such Affirmations must go for nothing in proving a Fact of this Nature, and may well serve for a Flourish, but not for an Argument, no more than several more Assertions of his concerning this Matter, which were exploded by other Hands, and not defended by Mr. WAGSTAF. L 2 MR.

M R. LE PLA Minister of *Finchingfield* writes to Dr. GOODAL, that one WILLIAM ALLEN, who collected his Tythes for two Years, and was formerly a Servant to Dr. GAUDEN, affirm'd to him, ' That the ' Doctor told him he had borrow'd ' the Book, and was oblig'd to return it by such a time ; that ' (besides what other time he might ' imploy in it) he sat up one whole ' Night to transcribe it ; that he ' sat up in the Chamber with him, ' to wait upon him, to make his ' Fires, and snuff his Candles : ' and Mr. LE PLA thinks (for he's ' not positive) it was from Mr. ' SYMMONDS of *Rayne* that he said the ' Doctor had borrow'd the Book. Dr. HOLLINGWORTH has formerly affirm'd this Story of SYMMONDS's, who indeed assisted afterwards in printing the Book at *London* ; but was so far at this time from living at *Rayne* in the Neighborhood of *Bocking* where Dr. GAUDEN dwelt, that as Dr. WALKER shews,
Mr.

Mr. SYMMONDS was long before sequestred for his Loyalty, fled to the King's Quarters, and one Mr. ATKINS plac'd in his room by the Parliament. Nor is it credible that Dr. GAUDEN, whether he meant a Fraud or not, should give an Account of his Studies, much less discover the Secret of this Book for no Reason in the World, to never so trusty a Servant, especially to one that was to look after his Fire and snuff his Candles.

NOW we com to the late King JAMES's Letters Patents to Mr. CHISWEL for Liberty to print his Father's Works ; for they are urg'd as an Argument that he thought *Icon Basilike* genuin, tho' this Book be not specially mention'd in these Letters, which are general, and refer not to those of his Brother in 60. But here I must beg Leave to relate a Story that will give som Light to this Matter. In the Year 1677, the House of Commons having voted two

Months Tax for the more decent Interment of CHARLES I. and to raise a Monument for him, Mr. CHISWEL, being Mr. ROYSTON's Son in law, thought of a Project that would answer the End of the Parliament, and not be unserviceable to his Father, with whom he was concern'd in Trade: and it was, that a Part of that Sum might be appropriated towards bearing the Charge of an Impression of the King's Works, wherof every Parish in *England* should be oblig'd to have a Copy, and to chain it in the Church; which, in his Opinion, would prove a more glorious and lasting Monument than any could be fram'd of Brass or Marble. This Thought was very well lik'd by several great Men of the Church and State, who shew'd themselves ready to promote it; and he did not, we may imagin, spare any Cost or Labor to have it succeed, tho' 'tis well known how little CHARLES the Second himself encourag'd it. But the

*Charge even more fastidiously and Dis-
cuss'd by all our churches*

Distrusts arising afterwards between the King and People, the Heats in Parliament, and particularly the Popish Plot, broke this, and all such Designs to Pieces : So that there was no farther Mention of any Monument for his Father. But when the Duke of *York* mounted the Throne, and had given Assurances of his Favor to the Church of *England*, Mr. CHISWEL thought again of reviving his Project, and employ'd Sir ROGER L' ESTRANGE to procure him only King JAMES's recommendatory Letter ; for he did not expect any thing from Parliament as before, only suggested how agreeable this would seem to the King's Design (if it were real) of begetting a Confidence of himself in the Church. This Request the King refus'd, giving for his Reason, that *Icon Basiliæ* was not his Father's Book, and he could not therefore in Conscience recommend it as his.

Mr. CHISWEL being inform'd of this Resolution by Sir ROGER, answer'd, that he thought he could accommodat the Matter : For since the publishing of the rest would signifie nothing without the Addition of *Icon Basilike*, he would remove it from the Front where it stood in the former Edition, and place it in the Rear after *Finis*, as Books of uncertain Authority use to be printed. To this the King consented, on condition som Expressions which he thought injurious to the Monarchy should be left out : with which Mr. CHISWEL said he could by no means comply, as being a disingenuous Practice towards any Author, and a great Abuse on the Public ; but propos'd, as another Expedient, that those Words should be put within Crotchets. And thus *Icon Basilike* stands now printed after the End of the second Part of the King's Works of the Edition of 86, by Mr. CHIS-

WEL,

WEL, who told me this Story himself, not to gratifie or injure any side, but as a Matter of Fact, wherein he was personally concern'd; and from whence he draws no manner of Inference. The Royal Brothers said the same to several others besides my Lord ANGLESEY, and particularly to som eminent Persons now living, who told me so much themselves, with a Liberty of mentioning their Names, which, after all that has bin offer'd, I see no Necessity of doing.

THAT nothing may be wanting I shall in the last place consider what is objected to the Prayer us'd by the King as his own in the time of his Captivity; but is, with very small Variation, the same that is said by PAMELA to a Heathen Deity in Sir PHILIP SYDNEY'S *Arcadia*. This Discovery, as we said before, was first made by MILTON in his *Iconoclastes*. But Dr. GILL affirms, 'That his Patient HENRY HILL the Printer said it was put in by a
' Con.

‘Contrivance of MILTON, who
‘catching his Friend Mr. Du GARD
‘printing an Edition of *Icon Basili-*
‘*ke*, got his Pardon by BRADSHAW’S
‘Intérest, on Condition he would
‘insert PAMELA’S Prayer to bring
‘Discredit on the Book and the
‘Author of it. I wonder at the
Easiness of Dr. GILL and Dr. BER-
NARD to believe so gross a Fable,
when it does not appear that Du
GARD, who was Printer to the
Parliament, ever printed this Book,
and that the Prayer is in the se-
cond Edition publish’d by Mr.
ROYSTON, whose Evidence is al-
ledg’d to prove the Genuineness of
the Book. And if the King’s
Friends thought it not his own,
what made them print it in the
first Impression of his Works in
Folio, by ROYSTON in 62, when
MILTON could not tamper with the
Press? Or why did they let it pass
in the last Impression in Folio by
Mr. CHISWEL in the Year 86, when
all the World knew that it was
long

long before expos'd in *Iconoclastes*? After this I need not go about to shew that Dr. GILL had no Reason for the great Opinion he entertain'd of HENRY HILL, and how little he consulted his own Reputation by asserting that no Man was better vers'd in the secret History of those times; that he was intrusted with Intrigues by the great ones of that Government, who, as all the World knows, manag'd their Affairs after another rate. Nor will I insist upon his turning Papist in King JAMES's time to become his Printer, as he was OLIVER's before, or any other Circumstance to lessen his Credit, since it appears that what he averr'd is inconsistent with Matter of Fact, Mr. ROYSTON, and not Du GARD, having publish'd the Celebrated Prayer which I add in this Place laid Parallel with the Original,

The Prayer of King CHARLES,
 stil'd *A Prayer in Time of
 Captivity*, Printed in pag. 24.
 of his Works, 1686; and al-
 so in *Icon Basilike*.

O Powerful and Eternal God,
 to whom nothing is so great
 that it may resist, or so small that
 it is contemn'd, look upon my
 Misery with thine Eye of Mercy, and
 let thine infinite Power vouchsafe to
 limit out som proportion of delive-
 rance unto me, as to thee shall seem
 most convenient. Let not Injury, O
 Lord, triumph over me, and let my
 Fault by thy Hand be corrected;
 and make not my unjust Enemies
 the Ministers of thy Justice. But
 yet, my God, if in thy Wisdom
 this be the aptest Chàstisement for
 my unexcusable Transgressions, if
 this

The PRAYER of PAME-
LA (to a Heathen Deity)
In Pembroke's Arcadia, pag.
248, 1674.

O All-seeing Light, and Eter-
nal Life of all things, to
whom nothing is either so great
that it may resist, or so small that
it is contemn'd, look upon my Mi-
sery with thine Ey of Mercy, and
let thine infinite Power vouchsafe to
limit out som Proportion of Deli-
verance unto me, as to thee shall seem
most convenient. Let not Injury,
O Lord, triumph over me, and let
my Faults by thy Hand be corre-
cted, and make not mine unjust
Enemy the Minister of thy Justice.
But yet, my God, if in thy Wisdom
this be the aptest Chastisement for
my unexcusable Folly, if this low
Bon-

this ungrateful Bondage be fittest for my over-high Desires, if the Pride of my (not-enough humble) Heart be thus to be broken, O Lord, I yield unto thy Will, and cheerfully embrace what Sorrow thou wilt have me suffer; only thus much let me crave of thee (let my Craving, O Lord be accepted of, since it even proceeds from thee) that by thy Goodness, which is thy self, thou wilt suffer some Beam of thy Majesty so to shine in my Mind, that I, who in my greatest Afflictions acknowledg it my noblest Title to be thy Creature, may still depend confidently on thee: Let Calamity be the Exercise, but not the Overthrow of my Virtue. O let not their prevailing Power be to my Destruction; and if it be thy Will that they more and more vex me with Punishment, yet, O Lord, never let their Wickedness have such a Hand, but that I may still carry a pure Mind and stedfast Resolution e-
ver

Bondage be fittest for my over-high Desires, if the Pride of my not-enough humble Heart be thus to be broken, O Lord, I yield unto thy Will, and joyfully embrace what Sorrow thou wilt have me suffer ; only thus much let me crave of thee (let my Craving, O Lord, be accepted of thee, since even that proceeds from thee) let me crave even by the noblest Title which in my greatest Affliction I may give my self, that I am thy Creature, and by thy Goodness, which is thy self, that thou wilt suffer som Beams of thy Majesty to shine into my Mind, that it may still depend confidently on thee. Let Calamity be the Exercise, but not the overthrow of my Virtue ; Let their Power prevail, but prevail not to Destruction ; Let my Greatness be their Prey : Let my Pain be the Sweetness of their Revenge ; let them (if so it seem good unto thee) vex me with more and more Punishment ;

ver to serve thee without Fear
or Presumption, yet with that hum-
Confidence which may best please
thee ; so that at the last I may com
to thy Eternal Kingdom , through
the Merits of thy Son, our a-
lone Savior , JESUS CHRIST.
Amen.

ment : But, O Lord, let never their
Wickedness have such a Hand, but
 that I may carry a pure Mind in a
 pure Body ; *and pausing a while ;*
 and O most gracious Lord, *said*
she, whatever becomes of me,
 preserve the Virtuous Musi-
 DORUS.

M.

CON-

CONCLUSION.

I HOPE by this time I have satisfy'd Mr. BLACKHALL, since I have not only laid together the first Testimonies concerning this Matter, but also answer'd the Exceptions that were made to those Testimonies, and disprov'd the fresh Evidence which was produc'd on the behalf of *Icon Basilike*. But if he's offended at my Performance he may thank himself; seeing without his causeless Provocation I had never written a Word more on this Subject, as I shall not do hereafter, unless for as justifiable a Reason: For notwithstanding I may not answer every Scribler, yet I'll be misrepresented and abus'd by no body worth my notice.

INDEED Mr. BLACKHALL is not the first who has occasion'd Controversies by a Thirtieth of *January* Sermon. Every body knows how
much

much the Observation of that Day was abus'd in the two last Reigns by servil Flatterers, who, not content to run shameful Parallels between the Sufferings of our Savior and the King (wherein the latter was often made to exceed) they taught the People the ridiculous Doctrin of *Passive Obedience*, as they allow'd the Prince an Unlimited and Despotic Power. This render'd those Persons justly odious to the Nation, and made sober Men frequently wish that such an Opportunity of doing Mischief might be taken away from those who fail'd not to improve it to the utmost. It was likewise observ'd how much these Sermons contributed to raise Animosities and Feuds in the Kingdom, and to continue the fatal Distinctions of Names and Parties, which every good Man should desire might be abolish'd, or bury'd in eternal Oblivion. Besides

that for many weighty Reasons such Days ought not to be perpetuated, or otherwise in a little time ours will be as full as the *Roman Calendar*: wherefore I readily approve of the learned Bishop of *Salisbury's* Opinion, That our Deliverances should wear out the Memory of such tragical Accidents, which no body pretends to justify; and indeed I think it very reasonable (if our Legislators be of the same Opinion) that the Commemoration of his present Majesty's Landing to deliver us from Slavery on the Fifth of *November*, should hereafter take place of the Thirtieth of *January*. Other Holydays have bin recommended to a constant Observation, tho' they are since grown into disuse, or are legally abolish'd, which the best Friends of the Clergy desire may be the Fate of that Day out of their respect to the Church: For these Sermons do constantly put the People in
mind

mind of that Set of Men who preach'd 'em out of their Liberties in former times; and the honest Clergy themselves are still under an unhappy Necessity of saying many things, that (let 'em think what they will) are not extremely pleasing to the Body of the Nation. The Descendants of those concern'd in that Act, and many of 'em far from approving it, conceive themselves unkindly us'd in most of those Discourses; nor are the Posterity of the greatest Royalists in a better Condition, if that be a National Guilt that's never to be expiated, tho' neither they nor their Ancestors consented to it; to say nothing of the frequent Intermarriages and other Tyes between both the Parties.

IF the Extravagancies of those Sermons had terminated with the late Reign, few People, perhaps, would trouble themselves now about what's past, unless constrain'd to it by som officious Chaplain: But they

they cannot endure to hear the Members of the Parliament of 40 so infamously branded, considering how lately they were oblig'd themselves to assert their Laws and Liberties against the Martyrs Son, who violated and broke them at his Pleasure : And in this Sense many were of Opinion that King CHARLES'S Blood lay heavy on the Nation, which made them for the ease of the same to shake off the Burden of King JAMES.

SOM, who otherwise Honor the Memory of King CHARLES the First, are angry to hear him, in Mr. BLACK-HALL'S Language, call'd *the best of Kings, and the best of Men*; when they consider especially, that the Apostles were Men, and that several Persons among the *Greek and Roman Heathens*, did infinitely excel him in all Moral and Heroic Virtues. As for Princes, if good Manners could not make Mr. BLACK-HALL except the present King, Justice

ftice at leaft might well oblige him
 to do it. King WILLIAM has never
 dispens'd with exprefs Laws in fa-
 vor of Popifh Recufants. He never
 protected any of his Chaplains a-
 gainft the Parliament for preaching
 up Arbitrary Power. He never re-
 quir'd Soldiers to be try'd by Mar-
 tial Law in time of Peace; nor
 levy'd Loans or Ship mony contra-
 ry to Law, much lefs imprifon'd,
 fin'd or banifh'd fuch as refus'd to
 pay thofe illegal Taxes. He does not
 countenance any SIBTHORPS, MAN-
 WARINGS, OR MOUNTAGUES to teach
 his Subjects Non-Refiftance, or to
 compliment himfelf with Arbitrary
 Power. He is fo far from fending
 for Foren Troops to enslave
 the Nation, that he readily fent
 thofe away which he kept here by
 Law, as foon as he underftood
 the Kingdom had no further need
 of their Service. He does not
 ufe to imprifon Members of the
 Houfe of Commons for uſing
 that

that Freedom of Debate which is Essential to their Constitution. He never threaten'd to betake himself to other Councils than his Parliament (as CHARLES the First did) saying that *Parliaments were in his Power*, and that *he might grow out of Love with them*. Nor is it known that he went into the House of Commons to demand any of their Members; no more than he has seiz'd the Customs without any Act to impower him. He never promis'd (as King CHARLES did in a Letter to his Queen) that he would take away all the Penal Laws against *Roman Catholicks* as soon as he should be able, nor any thing else of this nature: For these are only a few Instances, not to blacken that Prince, but to shew how little som sort of People seem to value his present Majesty for generously restoring the Constitution, and for so willingly passing

many

*He should have been tried
and hanged as a thief*
W. J.

many excellent Laws for enlarging or securing the Liberty of his Subjects; as well as for always paying such a Deference to Parliaments, which he not only assembles willingly, but likewise, according to ancient Custom, annually. In short, if King CHARLES the First was the best of Kings, the late King JAMES is not half so bad as I think him: Nor is there any Doubt, if a second Restoration (which God and all Freemen forbid) should ever happen, but that the Abdication-Day would be appointed as a perpetual Fast. What Mr. BLACKHALL thinks of dispensing with the Laws and acting without, or contrary to them, we may guess, when he says, *That King CHARLES'S greatest Enemies could not charge him with any Vice or Immorality*; as if only Whoring, Drinking, or Swearing were immoral Practices.

SINCE this King (who truly
N wa!

was not the worst) must needs be counted the best of Men, - I do not much wonder that Mr. LONG of *Exeter* was for having som Portions of his pretended Book read in the Church for the further enlightning of our Understanding : Nor that Dr. PERINCHIFF should tell us in his Life how som purchas'd Chips of the Block on which he was beheaded, and Parcels of the Sands discolor'd with his Blood, as also som of his Hair, *Hoping*, continues he, *they would be a means of Cure for that Disease, which our English Kings, through the Indulgence of kind Heaven, by their Touch did usually heal : And it was reported that these Reliques, experienc'd, fail'd not of the Effect.* Now who can laugh at the Popish Legends, and be serious when he reads this Passage ? Wheras, if there was ever any Power in *England* of curing the King's Evil, it was plainly lodg'd in the People. BE.

BEFORE I conclude, I must remark, that tho his pretended Friends were so ready to father such Books on CHARLES the First wherein he had no Hand, yet they industriously left out of his Works a Letter to Pope GREGORY XV, whereof I can prove him as evidently to be the Author as CICERO or VIRGIL may be entitul'd to the *Philippicks* and the *Æneids*. There is an interpolated Copy of it in the first Volum of RUSHWORTH's Collections : It is rightly inserted in the *Quarto* Edition of a Book call'd *Cabala*, or Mysteries of State : It is also in the *Italian Mercury* of VITTORIO SIRI : in DU CHESNE's *French History of England, Scotland and Ireland* : and in several *Spanish* and *Italian* Authors. Pope URBAN VIII mentions it in the Letter which he likewise sent this Prince, with another to his Father King JAMES ; both which may be read in RUSHWORTH's Collections.

Now

Now was not the omitting of this Letter a notorious Fraud, since that it alone, with those Letters which the Parliament publish'd to disgrace him, and a few Pieces besides, make up all his genuin Writings; For as to those Messages, Propositions, Declarations, Treaties, and other public Papers, which fill that bulky Folio they call his Works, whoever takes them to be his, is likewise capable of believing he was the true Author of *Icon Basilike*.

THIS is all I had to write concerning this famous Book, not to reflect on the Memory of CHARLES the First, but in my own Vindication; being a Liberty not deny'd me by Equity or Law, and which, if I neglected to improve, I should be more unjust to my self than my Adversaries, whose Malice I shall readily forget, and heartily pray God to forgive.

F I N I S.





